

MIDDLE CLASS REBELLION: PHANTOM OF THE REVOLUTION

By

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PREFACE

The proletarian revolution has been closely shadowed ever since it drew its first breath--shadowed by middle class rebellion. This phantom of the revolution flies apart and regroups when challenged by theory; it darts and scoffs when defied by practice. It moves around and around the working class, changing in size and position with the time of day and the season of the year. It completely vanishes only momentarily, when the sun is directly overhead.

Over the years slivers and streaks of this "other" specter have been gathered for inspection. Each specimen in its separate bottle has been carefully numbered and recorded. Usually, only insubstantial conclusions arise--like so many transparent vapors emitted from the bottles.

Some of the more striking samples which have been collected will be utilized later in this work. For the moment, however, they must be shelved and stored; for their fumes are intoxicating without prior precautions. Moreover, the specimens' misleading appearance of lacking any substance whatsoever has provoked an outbreak of labeling--and labeling exhales boredom.

A vastly different approach is needed here at the outset. Clearly, the general movement of rebellion is so quick and varied, only a moving picture can do it justice. There are periods when it rolls and swarms like swells of heat; there are times when it flits and dips like a moth or a leaf. Yet, even though rebellion may shift and jump with each flickering second, some regularities are present.

For one thing, its kaleidoscoping transitions in size and position never go beyond certain limits; for another, rebellion always moves in the same general direction. Definite proportions and a discernible route suggest that means-averages exist, and that somewhere there are pivotal forces giving rebellion a special identity.

The leads and cues which rebellion throws behind are always deceptive. The general location of rebellion must be known before its nucleus can be found. In its unqualified condition, however, rebellion covers the length and breadth of bourgeois society. It is the dial tone of the capitalist world. "Indeed, the movement of that world within its laws is necessarily a continuous abrogation of the law."¹

The rapid diffusion of rebellion throughout bourgeois society means that society's ideas about rebellion are themselves saturated with rebellion. In order to find the core from which rebellion radiates, then, it is necessary to go beyond these ideas and to begin outside bourgeois society and work back.

Rebellion is closely related to the formation of the proletariat. And the proletariat is the black star of capitalism, "the mass resulting from the disintegration of society and above all from the disintegration of the middle class."²

If disintegration is the real movement of bourgeois society, then rebellion--that "continuous abrogation of the law"--is its twin brother. More precisely, rebellion is the expression of the disintegration of bourgeois society from a locus in that society. That locus, as was just noted, is the middle class.

The general disintegration of bourgeois society is centered in the dissolution of the middle class into the proletariat. Therefore, rebellion--the capitalist world's disintegration as manifested within that same world--also has its core in the middle class.

"When the proletariat announces the dissolution of the existing social order, it only declares the secret of its own existence, for it is the effective dissolution of this order."³ Middle class rebellion is the same movement of dissolution, but as it occurs

¹Karl Marx, "On The Jewish Question," in Loyd Easton and Kurt Guddat, Editors, Writings of The Young Marx on Philosophy and Society, Doubleday and Company, Inc., New York, 1967, p. 246.

²Karl Marx, "Contribution to The Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction," in T.B. Bottomore, Editor, Karl Marx: Early Writings, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1964, p. 58.

³Ibid., pp. 58-9.

inside bourgeois society and with all the limitations of that society. Rebellion is the silhouette of the proletarian revolution, but cast over broken and unprepared ground.

Rebellion is a living distortion of revolution because of the social existence of the middle class prior to its disintegration. This existence is fundamentally one of being caught between two opposing forces, capital and labor. Each of these forces threatens bourgeois society, the bourgeoisie by reaction and the proletariat by revolution. The middle class performs the crucial role of maintaining an equilibrium between capital and labor: it is the webbed-foot of bourgeois society.

Reconciliation, then, is the social existence of the middle class before it dissolves into the proletariat. After the middle class has been dissolved, this existence changes to revolution. Rebellion is the transition from reconciliation to revolution, a phase which transverses the period of disintegration of the middle class into the proletariat. The tradition of reconciliation which rebellion carries distinguishes rebellion from revolution, and explains why rebellion can only express revolution imperfectly.

The movement from reconciliation to revolution is a highly long-term development. The proletarianization of the middle class spans the entire history of bourgeois society. Moreover, this proletarianization does not occur in a straight line or in any one cycle; rather, proletarianization takes place via the series of cycles created by the booms and busts of capitalist production. Consequently, rebellion is the transitional phase between reconciliation and revolution only in terms of the completed series of cycles. Initially, the role played by rebellion in any one cycle is quite different: it is the transitional phase between reconciliation and reconciliation, not revolution.

In the continuing development of capitalism the gulf widens between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. In that the basic movement of bourgeois society is the formation of the proletariat, this sector grows faster than the bourgeoisie. The disproportionate increase in the working class threatens the prevailing mode of

reconciliation maintained by the middle class.

A cycle of increased proletarianization produces rebellion in the middle class. But proletarianization is not completed in one cycle; therefore, rebellion cannot run the full course between reconciliation and revolution in a single cycle. Since rebellion is stopped short of revolution, its end result in a particular cycle is to indicate a defect in the prevailing mode of reconciliation--the defect of not including the expanded working class element. Unfulfilled rebellion points out a deficiency in reconciliation and helps correct it. For any one cycle in the initial period of proletarianization, then, rebellion is only the rapid eye movement of an awakening reconciliation of capital and labor.

As was mentioned, unlike the short-run in which rebellion is a transition between old and new forms of reconciliation, rebellion in the long-run is the transition between reconciliation and revolution. This long-run development toward revolution is visible in the changing means-average of forms of reconciliation formed after each cycle of proletarianization. The disproportionate increase in the working class over the bourgeoisie compels the center of reconciliation to move forever to the left. Also, reconciliation itself--the home base of rebellion--is directly undermined as the middle class disintegrates into the proletariat.

The formation of the proletariat, then, is a train that runs both ways, up and down. And both movements are on the same track of revolution.

As capital and labor move further apart, the task of reconciliation performed by the middle class becomes more difficult. Rebellion appears more frequently, with a greater intensity, and with a larger scope. At a certain point the quantitative additions of working class elements encompassed within reconciliation, coupled with the direct erosion of the middle class base underlying reconciliation, produce a qualitative change. Rebellion ceases to be an appendix to reconciliation and becomes an introduction to revolution.

This qualitative change in rebellion is a major turning point.

The role of rebellion in the single cycles found in the initial period of proletarianization, for example, becomes inverted as rebellion passes the midway point. In spite of this qualitative change, however, rebellion always preserves its own identity. As long as rebellion is rebellion, it is distinct from both reconciliation and revolution.

Given this special identity, it is hardly surprising that rebellion is usually mistaken for a flying object from another world: it is really only a peculiar cloud formed by the conversion of the breezes of reconciliation into the winds of revolution. The goal of this work is to correct this mistake by bringing out rebellion's peculiar features.

Since rebellion has its origin in the world of reconciliation, most of the basic composition of rebellion is formed before the qualitative change occurs. Hence, the focus of this study is on rebellion before its axis tilts away from reconciliation and toward revolution. The concentration on rebellion in its period of formation means in historical terms that this investigation is concerned with rebellion as it appears in bourgeois societies, not socialist ones.

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The pollen of rebellion blowing over bourgeois society are fertilized in the flower of disintegration of the middle class. Past examinations of rebellion reveal that an adequate understanding of rebellion is impossible without an appreciation of middle class dissolution. And the intellectual foster parent of middle class disintegration is Marxism. Whenever the search for rebellion's identity begins with this disintegration, Marxism is a path which cannot be ignored.

But the major contributions of Marx toward an understanding of rebellion are also more direct. As a scholar of the formation of the proletariat, Marx investigated the topic of middle class dissolution; as a theorist and practitioner of revolution, Marx

had to deal directly with middle class rebellion. The only difference is that whereas Marx's insights into middle class disintegration are concise, his observations of rebellion are fluid. They need to be organized and clearly stated, and the major part of this work is concerned precisely with this task. But if the search for the major features of rebellion begins with Marx, it cannot end with Marx--"end" in the sense of a simple repetition of his findings. As Marx once remarked of his sleep-walking disciples, "All I know is that I am not a Marxist."⁴

If Marxism is the podium for a discussion of middle class disintegration, this disintegration for its part is a foundation block of Marxism. In both a positive and negative sense, the formation of the proletariat is dependent upon the disintegration of the middle class. Hence, an examination of middle class dissolution according to Marxist theory turns out to be an examination of Marxism at the same time.

The middle class: that is the question--for rebellion as well as for Marxism. Before analyzing middle class disintegration and rebellion, some general notes on Marxist theory are necessary.

Marxism deals with the middle class in two contexts, long-range and short-range. In his long-range analysis of capitalist development, Marx considered the middle class to be unimportant. He noted in Capital, for example, that "wage-labourers, capitalists, and landowners constitute [the] three big classes of modern society based upon the capitalist mode of production." But even in England, where the three classes were the most highly developed, "the stratification of classes does not appear in its pure form. Middle and intermediate strata. . .obliterate lines of demarcation everywhere." For Marx, however, the middle strata are

immaterial for our analysis. We have seen that the continual tendency and law of development of

⁴Frederick Engels, "Letter to Conrad Schmidt (1890)," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Correspondence, International Publishers, New York, 1935, p. 472.

the capitalist mode of production is more and more to divorce the means of production from labour, and more and more to concentrate the scattered means of production into large groups, thereby transforming labour into wage-labour and the means of production into capital.⁵

In brief, the long-term development of capitalism is toward two classes only, capital and labor. The middle class is unimportant as a separate entity because it falls into the proletariat.

If Marx's long-range analysis of capitalism discounts the middle class as a significant factor, his collection of short-range analyses of contemporary events and personalities does exactly the opposite. Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution is one example. In this set of essays Engels--with Marx's collaboration--discussed the uprising in Germany. In regard to the petty bourgeoisie they concluded, "This class of petty tradesmen, the great importance and influence of which we have already several times adverted to, may be considered as the leading class of the insurrection of May 1849."⁶

The long-range and short-range contexts of Marx contain another dimension than time for evaluating the importance of the middle class in Marxist theory. The long-range analysis, which dismisses the middle class as a significant element, is concerned with the economic side of capitalism, i.e., the material "structure." The short-range analyses, on the other hand, which consider the middle class to be crucial, are concerned with the social and political side of capitalism, i.e., the ideological "superstructure" created and maintained by the economic structure.* In long-run,

⁵Karl Marx, Capital, International Publishers, New York, 1970, Volume III, p. 885.

⁶Frederick Engels, Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 104.

*"The totality of [the] relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life." Karl Marx, A Contribution to The Critique of Political Economy, International Publishers, New York, 1970, pp. 20-1.

economic terms, then, Marxist theory attaches little importance to the middle class. In short-run, ideological terms, however, Marx ascribes a central position to the middle class.

Capitalism has of course advanced since Marx's day. Perhaps the short-term importance of the middle class in the ideological superstructure has already run its course. The position of this work is to the contrary. The long-term, economic decline of the middle class suggests that this class's ideological importance will also diminish with time. This is true, but only after a certain point. As capital and labor drift further apart, the need of bourgeois society for the ideological services of middle class reconciliation and rebellion increases. Capitalism calls out for these functions and rewards them. Therefore, the ideological importance of the middle class persists in the long-run out of proportion to this class's declining economic strength. This is why Marx's analyses of the crucial ideological role of the middle class continue to be relevant even for highly developed capitalism.

Contemporary Marxism tends to employ only the long-range, economic perspective for discussing the middle class in advanced capitalist nations. This means that the middle class is regarded as unimportant economically as well as ideologically. According to this viewpoint, the middle class by and large already has disintegrated into the proletariat. The acceptance of only the long-range, economic perspective of Marx is reflected perfectly in the way the middle class is mentioned in such discussions: "in passing."

A highly literal application of Marx's long-range perspective of the middle class to contemporary, highly developed capitalist countries is premature. It is idealistic because it runs ahead of reality; for the middle class continues to play a significant ideological function in these nations. But the short-run view of Marx, in and of itself, also creates distortions. It overemphasizes the ideological superstructure with respect to the economic structure. This means that the short-run view, if too rigidly accepted, is unable to explain the overall movement in middle class ideology, a movement which does indeed follow the long-term, economic

decline of the middle class.

In both the long-range and short-range perspectives Marx pointed to general tendencies. In each of the two perspectives it is important to see more than his finger. The whole of Marx's theory of the middle class must be applied, not just a part. Both perspectives must be utilized so that neither the long-range nor the short-range, the economic nor the ideological, is disregarded. When taken together the two perspectives do not conflict. On the contrary, they supplement one another. The long-range perspective shows that over a long period of time the flow of the ideology of the middle class is conditioned by economic factors. The short-run perspective, for its part, provides a critical leverage by not allowing a focus on the long-range, economic development to obscure clear and present ideological elements.

The division of Marx's theory of the middle class into long-range and short-range perspectives is imprecise. Marx's short-run analyses of middle class ideology were cast in the black light of this class's long-term, economic decline. And Marx's long-run, economic analysis contains twigs and sprouts of the ideological superstructure. Nevertheless, the blend is more even in Marx's short-run analyses, and consequently these analyses are of more immediate usefulness in an investigation of middle class rebellion. The arbitrary division was made only to make clear that Marx did discuss the middle class extensively, and attached great importance to it in the realm of ideology. This fact is passed over in the trend of contemporary Marxism to employ only the long-term, economic perspective for viewing the middle class.

The underestimation of Marx's discussions of middle class ideology also characterizes most non-Marxists. They, too, are inclined to see only the long-range, economic analysis in their criticisms of Marx's treatment of the middle class. Their attacks have the same theoretical deficiency of overlooking Marx's short-run, ideological analyses. But their objections are more than purely theoretical in nature, and consequently cannot be so easily dispelled.

The practical criticism by non-Marxists of Marx's long-range analysis is that the facts do not support it. The reality, they argue, is that the middle class has not been disintegrating into the proletariat during the development of capitalism. C. Wright Mills, for example, contended that the

greatest difficulty with the Marxist expectation of proletarianization is that many changes pointing that way have not come about by a lowering of the white-collar position, but often more crucially by a raising of the wage-worker position. . . . What-ever past differences between white-collar and wage-workers with respect to income security, sick benefits, paid vacations, and working conditions, the major trend is now for these same advantages to be made available to factory workers.⁷

In brief, the middle class is becoming proletarianized because the proletariat is rising into the middle class, not because the middle class is falling into the proletariat. This type of criticism is quite common. It is also quite serious and deserves a reasonable answer; for the fate of the middle class is the fate of Marxism, in both theory and practice.

The question of the condition of the middle class in the long-term development of capitalism is truly urgent for this study. Obviously, if the middle class does not disintegrate with the economic advance of capitalism, then the value of Marx's ideological analyses of the middle class is questionable. As has been noted, the long-term, economic development is the marbling in the meat of Marx's ideological analyses. And the case studies of middle class rebellion which are to be utilized later in this work are among these ideological analyses. Therefore, before using these case studies for identifying the major features of rebellion, it is necessary to determine the concrete status of the middle class in advanced

⁷C. Wright Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes, Oxford University Press, New York, 1959, pp. 299-300.

capitalism.

A thorough analysis of the concrete condition of the United States middle class, however, is beyond the scope of this study. Moreover, one of the greatest weaknesses of all social science research to date is the lack of such an analysis. Consequently, there is no adequate empirical examination to which this study can defer.

At the same time, the Marxist approach requires that an attempt be made at investigating material reality. In fact, such an effort is one of the major distinguishing features between Marxism and theories flowing out of middle class rebellion.

What emerges from the above two concerns--the need to present evidence, but evidence which will be necessarily incomplete for the time and place of this work--is the major portion of Chapter I. Statistical data is offered which indicates that there are several tendencies in the United States today which support Marx's thesis that the middle class declines in advanced capitalism. THESE DATA ARE PRESENTED ONLY--ONLY--TO SHOW THAT MARX'S ANALYSES OF MIDDLE CLASS IDEOLOGY ARE RELEVANT. To insist, therefore, that the statistics do not prove conclusively that the United States middle class is declining is completely beside the point. Moreover, such an insistence exhibits the extremist straw man approach which this work discusses as a manifestation of middle class ideology.

The requirement of an effort to examine socioeconomic realities raises another point with regard to the Marxist approach, a point which emerges in the treatment of Marx's analyses of middle class consciousness. Is this examination a description of Marx's analyses? Or is this work an explanation of these analyses? Or, "on the other hand," is this investigation an interpretation of Marx's writings? If there is confusion regarding these approaches, I would suggest that it is only the result of the fact that the methods themselves cannot be separated. An interpretation, for example, always contains descriptions and explanations. A description or explanation always has an interpretation (whether explicit or implicit does not matter). The characteristic of separating in words phenomena which cannot be separated in deeds is, like the contradictory straw man tactic

just mentioned, an attribute of middle class ideology which is the subject of this work.

Finally, there is the question of objectivity. In general, non-Marxists think partisanship is synonymous with a lack of objectivity. Since this study thoroughly accepts Marx's general portrait of middle class ideology, "therefore," this examination is not objective.

"Objectivity," however, refers to facts--not the style of presentation or personal commitment. This problem becomes: which facts? THE FACTS WITH WHICH THIS STUDY IS CONCERNED ARE MARX'S STATEMENTS ABOUT MIDDLE CLASS IDEOLOGY. This work is NOT ABOUT BAKUNIN, for example, BUT RATHER WITH MARX'S STATEMENTS ABOUT BAKUNIN, his ideas and activities. The question regarding objectivity then becomes: does this examination misrepresent or accurately reflect Marx's writings?

This approach to objectivity reveals part of the ideology of the anti-Marxists. In relegating objectivity to being merely a tone of argument, they openly announce their disregard for the facts presented in the argument: they are the least objective of all. In denying personal commitment to a position, they only succeed in showing their own deeper, unanalyzed form of commitment: the commitment to noncommitment. This sort of ideology is the theme of this work: the fact that most middle class readers will be unable to view their own mentality as an object merely provides empirical evidence confirming the essential dimensions of this mentality.

The basic goal here, then, is a clarification and creative expansion on Marx--that is, a Marxist analysis of Marx. Whether or not it succeeds in this attempt is for the readers to decide.

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Major Department: Political Science

This dissertation attempts to organize into a systematic theory the observations and thoughts of Karl Marx regarding middle class rebellion. The core thesis is that during capitalist development the middle class declines from a position between capital and labor to a position of labor alone. The type of consciousness characterizing the middle class while it is between capital and labor is reconciliation; after it has fallen into the proletariat, revolution. The transitional type of consciousness between reconciliation and revolution is rebellion.

Chapter I discusses some of the material parameters of the middle class in the United States. Small capitalists in both the production and circulation phases of industrial capital have failed to halt the concentration and centralization of capital. Middle class employees in the circulation phase, e.g., professions and technicians, are experiencing a devaluation of their functions. Consequently, tendencies presently operating in the United States suggest that a decline of the middle class does in fact accompany

advanced capitalism.

Chapter II presents Marx's two typologies of consciousness found in The Poverty of Philosophy and The Communist Manifesto. A model is constructed of bourgeois development and the concomitant production of categories of ideology for the bourgeoisie, middle class, and proletariat. In the final stage of capitalism, the categories of Proudhonist synthesizing and bourgeois socialism constitute middle class reconciliation. German or "true" socialism, petty bourgeois socialism, and critical-utopian socialism and communism are the categories of middle class rebellion.

Chapter III discusses Marx's analysis of Proudhon. Proudhonism is identified as the classical consciousness of middle class reconciliation. Indeed, Proudhonism represents middle class consciousness per se. Three dynamic elements for integrating perceptions are presented and defined as the cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism. These elements are then associated with the material and social position of the middle class within bourgeois society.

Chapter IV is concerned with a case study by Marx and Engels of middle class rebellion: the Heroes of the Exile. The three basic elements of middle class consciousness are elaborated in terms of their specific manifestations in rebellion. For example, the cult of contradiction appears as a coexistence of opposites such as total violence and total pacificism; the cult of synthesis is reflected in resolute individualism and spurious activities; and idealism presents itself in doctrinairism and formulaism.

Chapter V presents a second case study by Marx of middle class rebellion: the Willich and Schapper group in the Communist League. All of the specific manifestations noted in Chapter IV are present in the Willich/Schapper group--only more so than in the "heroes" of the exile.

Chapter VI presents a third case study of rebellion: the

Bakuninists in the First International. Middle class rebellion is found to be deeper than in Willich/Schapper and the "heroes."

An appendix offers a review of the literature.

CHAPTER I
THE LAST CRISIS

Hegel remarks somewhere that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice. He forgot to add: the first time as tragedy, the second as farce.¹

And the third time? Well, from a pantomime of tragedy these facts and personages become a pantomime of a pantomime, a charade of a mirage. An example of a twice-told-tale replayed is the consciousness prevailing in the middle class of the United States. This consciousness has two black eyes--those of a skate sulking in the sand of its own malfeasance. It has been held over by special demand.

Historical circumstances have combined to make this middle class consciousness a prominent part of the consciousnesses of the other classes of the United States. Therefore, this analysis of middle class consciousness begins with this wider context and works back.

The historical situation is that the relationship of the capitalist United States to socialist societies is about the same as the relationship of the feudal Germany in Marx's day to bourgeois ones. All that the United States lacks to complete the analogy is the adoption of socialist "principles" as the formal philosophy of state.

Just as the nations of the ancient world
lived their pre-history in the imagination. . .
so we Germans have lived our post-history in

¹Karl Marx, The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 15.

thought, in philosophy. We are the philosophical contemporaries of the present day without being its historical contemporaries. German philosophy is the ideal prolongation of German history."²

Just as feudal Germany accompanied the development of bourgeois nations "only through the abstract activity of thought, without taking an active part in the real struggles of this development,"³ the capitalist United States today experiences in thought alone its own future of socialism.

Feudal Germany suffered the pains of bourgeois development "without sharing in its pleasures and partial satisfactions. The abstract activity on one side has its counterpart in the abstract suffering on the other."⁴ Likewise, the United States, loaded down with the agonies and devoid of the pleasures involved in the practical construction of socialism, is reduced to being a "student" of its own catastrophe:

Even Karl Marx imbued his readers with the belief that socialism would be an advanced stage of humanity and that communism could open up golden vistas. Both Lenin and Trotsky still hoped that the Revolution would eventually lead to the mastery of society by the individual. Stalin killed that hope. Today Marxism-Leninism is regarded as merely another highly imperfect social compromise. . . . Today the world is generally regarded as an imperfect place which may, in fact, be doomed by man himself.⁵

Quite predictably, candles and campfires of unhappiness burn

²Karl Marx, "The Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right: Introduction," T.B. Bottomore, Editor, Karl Marx: Early Writings, McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York, 1964, p. 49.

³Ibid., p. 54.

⁴Ibid., p. 54.

⁵Yorick Blumenfeld, "The Black Mood of Today," St. Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Florida, Editorial Research Reports, August 16, 1971, p. 12-A.

most ardently in that sector which contains the most thoroughly-abstract accompanists of socialist revolutions, the "radical" intellectuals. Example: the mental anguish generated by the "Padilla Affair":

What does it take to convince MICLA [Movimiento de Independencia Cultural Latinoamerica] that the tactics used against Padilla are "the typical, brutal tactics adopted by repressive countries"? Does Padilla have to be executed? My article tried to show that there exist quite a few precedents in the Cuban cultural sphere that clearly indicate that there are forces in Cuba working for "a Stalinist type of sectarian hardening process." . . . Maybe MICLA and I agree about one thing: that the process now begun is not irreversible and that it is the Cuban revolutionaries who can do that, not me, not MICLA, and not the intellectuals in Europe.^{6*}

It seems that if the United States Government strives to be the policeman of the "free" world, its intellectuals attempt to be the night watchman of the socialist one. To clarify the political context in which this intellectual pursuit occurs, feudal Germany can again be used as a historical analogy. Marx noted that

the German status quo is the open consummation of the ancien régime, and the ancien régime is the hidden defect of the modern [bourgeois] state. The struggle against the political present of the Germans is a struggle against the past of modern nations, who are continually importuned by the reminiscences of this past. It is instructive for the modern nations to see the ancien régime, which has played a tragic

^{6*}Jose Yglesias, "Letters," The New York Review of Books, A. Whitney Ellsworth, New York, July 22, 1971, p. 36. As the Cuban author Edmundo Desnoes observed, foreign intellectuals "have used the case of Padilla to analyze the cultural situation in Cuba and to analyze the Cuban Revolution. I believe that in reality we have to invert the terms and use the case of Padilla to analyze the situation of [these] intellectuals." Lionel Martin, "Latin Revolutionaries Criticize Padilla," Guardian, Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., New York, August 18, 1971, p. 12.

part in their history, play a comic part as a German ghost.⁷

Today, however, socialist countries are more than "importuned" by the capitalist United States. United States power compared to feudal Germany's--its participation in "restoration" activities like Germany,⁸ but as a world power--renders the consummation of the ancien régime in the United States the open, not hidden, "defect" of socialism. World power is why the United States, unlike Marx's Germany, does not play a comic part in contemporary history; why the major "defects" of socialism exist presently in a concrete way, not as "reminiscences;" why, in short, the struggle against the political present of the United States is also a struggle against the political present--when viewed as "defective"--of socialism.

Marx wondered if Germany could attain "a revolution which will raise it not only to the official level of the modern nations, but to the human level which will be the immediate future of those nations."⁹ The same question is all the more pertinent today for the United States, given its key position in world affairs.

In formulating an answer for his own country, Marx held that due to an absence of political idealism,*

In Germany. . .where practical life is as little intellectual as intellectual life is practical,

⁷Marx, "Critique," p. 47.

⁸Ibid., p. 45.

⁹Ibid., p. 52.

*For Marx this idealism was present in France, where "every class of the population is politically idealistic and considers itself first of all, not as a particular class, but as the representative of the general needs of society." This idealism allowed for the possibility of "a progressive emancipation," in which the "role of liberator" could "pass successively in a dramatic movement to different classes in the population, until it finally reaches the class [i.e., the proletariat] which achieves social freedom. . . ." (Ibid., p. 57) This positive relationship between consciousness and revolution balances its converse (see page 7). The fact that Marxism encompasses the two relationships indicates that its scope is wider on both sides than the narrow economic determinism by which Marxism is often characterized.

no class. . . feels the need for, or the ability to achieve, a general emancipation, until it is forced to it by its immediate situation, by material necessity and by its fetters themselves.¹⁰

It is clear, then, that Marx had no faith in the consciousness of ideal participation, of trying to live out the future in thought alone, to realize a revolution in the present. He had no confidence in the duet attempted by the feudal Germans with the bourgeois nations when only one of the players was really there. Given the sordid political context in which the consciousness of ideal participation makes its appearance, Marx saw this form of consciousness for what it truly is: a sandpiper from the black lagoon.

After anchoring the German revolution in material necessity, Marx then turned--for the first time in his works--to that social sphere which is "a total loss of humanity and which can only redeem itself by a total redemption of humanity. This dissolution of society, as a particular class, is the proletariat."¹¹

Marx's answer for Germany is the answer for the United States: the working class. However, the task of forming the proletariat as a class* must overcome the problem of ideal consciousness, of experiencing socialism only in the mind. This problem is compounded because the consciousness of ideal participation is by no means limited to the masses of the United States. This same consciousness also characterizes those who are to play a crucial role in the

¹⁰Ibid., p. 58.

¹¹Ibid., p. 58.

*"Class" was not defined by Marx in only economic terms, e.g., "In so far as millions of families live under economic conditions of existence that separate their mode of life, their interests and their culture from those of the other classes, and put them in hostile opposition to the latter, they form a class." (18th Brumaire, p. 124) That the non-material components of a "class" are not always given is evident in the statement that the "immediate aim of the Communists" is to achieve the "formation of the proletariat into a class." Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto, in Dirk J. Struik, Editor, Birth of The Communist Manifesto, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 103.

formation of these masses into a class "which has radical chains"¹² the United States left, precisely where, as has been noted, the problem of ideal participation is severest.

The historical present of socialist revolutions, then, raises a poignant question for the United States: what or who will educate the educators?, and gives it a dimension outside the historical perview of the two greatest socialist educators: Marx, whose epoch was devoid of any socialist revolutions, and Lenin, whose experience consisted in leading the first socialist revolution.

While the consciousness of ideal participation in socialism is a serious obstacle to a revolution in the United States, it is by no means a total enigma. The experience of socialism in the mind alone is only the mossy hand of German or "true" socialism reaching across the century. "To the absolute governments, with their following of parsons, professors, country squires and officials, [German or 'true' socialism] served as a welcome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie."¹³ Only the name has been changed, from threatening bourgeoisie to a menacing proletariats. And not to protect the innocent.

German or "true" socialism will be discussed more fully in the next chapter. What is of interest here is the existence of a form of this mentality within the United States at a time when socialism is not just an actuality in socialist nations. Socialism is already a reality within the United States itself in terms of the relationships of production. Only the means of production remain basically unsocialized. In the face of this actuality of socialism, it is strange that the consciousness of socialism is for the most part only of socialism within consciousness, within the mind. This entails the experience in thought alone of the future of a socialist revolution without experiencing in thought the present of existing socialism.

¹²Marx, "Critique," p. 58.

¹³Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 118.

The general inability of the United States to experience in consciousness the socialism in its own reality is a muscle contraction--a charley horse--of the socialized relations of production under the strain of nonsocialized means of production. Here consciousness and reality have finally come together, but are back-to-back. Marx's Germany would be analogous only if it in fact had been bourgeois, not feudal, and yet still only saw this bourgeois reality "elsewhere," in other nations.

Marx's feudal Germany was a pantomime of tragedy because it experienced its own future as a bourgeois nation only in thought, in philosophy. The reality of socialism today in the United States makes its experience of socialism only in the mind a pantomime of a pantomime, a mimicry of a masquerade.

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The topic of consciousness is a revolutionary one because material necessity is not a sufficient condition for revolution.* The problem for a Marxist analysis of an awareness of socialism everywhere but in one's own reality is the location of this form of consciousness within the totality of the United States, a totality of advanced capitalism. Inasmuch as this totality is a developing process, the key feature of a Marxist analysis is to locate the consciousness of ideal socialism in the present in terms of the future, the future of socialist revolution.** And because

* Marx noted that the situation of the French peasants, "in debt, sucked dry by usury and crushed by taxes, can only be anything but brilliant. The history of the last three years has, however, provided sufficient proof that this class of the population is capable of absolutely no revolutionary initiative." Karl Marx, The Class Struggles in France: 1848-1850, International Publishers, New York, 1964, p. 134.

** Andre Gunder Frank noted the importance of holism in Marxist theory and contrasted it with the holism claimed by functionalists: "Functionalism appeals to holism only to explain the parts, while dialectics appeals to holism to explain the whole--and thereby the parts. Even at their best, functionalists and their theory do not attempt, or even pretend, to analyze, explain, account for, under-

this developing process is fundamentally a material one, the location of ideal socialism within advanced capitalism takes the form of the question: who, in terms of class, strives to prolong the present by confining the future to the mind?--what class is forever compelled to "justify in theory" what it already is "in practice"?¹⁴ The answer to this question will pinpoint the concrete foundation of the consciousness of ideal socialism in terms of the revolutionary future of the United States.

Marx undertook this type of analysis of the totality of German society. "It is a matter of depicting the stifling pressure which the different social spheres exert upon each other, the universal but passive ill-humour, the complacent but self-deluding narrowness of spirit. . . ." In German society what reigned was a détente between stuffed artichokes and steamed clams:

What a spectacle! Society is infinitely divided into the most diverse races, which confront each other with their petty antipathies, bad conscience and coarse mediocrity; and which, precisely because of their ambiguous and mistrustful situation, are treated without exception, though in different ways, as merely tolerated existences by their masters.¹⁵

This "ambiguous and mistrustful" situation has a certain class as a cornerstone. Now the class which Marx in his later writings associated with this type of condition--i.e., the class which "has neither courage enough nor insight enough to rise, be it even

stand, and least of all to predict the existence--and still less the appearance or disappearance--of a particular social system or structure. On the contrary, just like their theory, functionalists always take the existing social structure as given and for granted. . . ." Andre Gunder Frank, "Functionalism and Dialectics," Latin America: Underdevelopment or Revolution?, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969, p. 97.

¹⁴Karl Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 193.

¹⁵Marx, "Critique," p. 46.

speculatively, above the bourgeois horizon;"¹⁶ which is "composed of On The One Hand and On The Other Hand;"¹⁷ which views the world in terms of the "good side and the bad side, the advantages and the drawbacks;"¹⁸ whose proclaimed defense of the "eternal rights of man" really only "veils the class struggle;"¹⁹ which is a "transition class, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously mutually blunted," and whose member as a result "imagines himself elevated above class antagonism generally;"²⁰ the class which in spite of its "revolutionary longings" in the end feels "more in place behind the bourgeois republicans than in front of the revolutionary proletariat;"²¹ who wishes "for nothing more fervently than to see the battle fought out in the clouds over its head;"²² who "glorifies contradiction because contradiction is the basis of his existence. He is himself nothing but social contradiction in action;"²³ this class, in fine, is the petty bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels explicitly stated this conclusion in The Communist Manifesto: "In Germany the petty-bourgeois class, a relic of the 16th century, and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things."²⁴

Ut supra the United States, where the petty bourgeoisie* is the "real social basis" of the present-day reality--the machine in the ghost of ideal socialism. When viewed from the perspective of socialist revolution, the proletariat is the dissolution of bourgeois

¹⁶Marx, Poverty, p. 126.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 202.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 111.

¹⁹Marx, 18th Brumaire, p. 46.

²⁰Ibid., p. 54.

²¹Marx, Class Struggles, p. 84.

²²Ibid., p. 98.

²³Marx, Poverty, p. 193.

²⁴Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 118.

*"Petty bourgeoisie," strictly employed, refers only to the small producers. The "middle class," on the other hand, includes people who do not own the means of production, e.g., "people that live on the interest of small investments, officials, men of letters, artists, schoolmasters and the like. . ." (Karl Marx, Capital, International Publishers, New York, 1970, Volume I, p. 198) Here "petty bourgeoisie" and "middle class" will be used interchangeably because they are more alike than

society as a class, whereas the petty bourgeoisie is where the class expression of this dissolution appears within bourgeois society itself. "For what constitutes the proletariat is. . . not the mass of people mechanically oppressed by the weight of society, but the mass resulting from the disintegration of society and above all from the disintegration of the middle class."²⁵ The petty bourgeoisie, then, is the sour mash in the preparation of the proletariat.

If the working class is the key to a revolution raising the United States to the immediate official level--as well as the future human one--of socialist nations, the petty bourgeoisie is the key to the working class.

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As the class formed by the dissolution of bourgeois society, the proletariat is more of than in that society. This is the head side of the coin. The other side of the same coin is the middle class, the stratum of bourgeois society which is dissolved into the working class. This work examines the ideology of the middle class--the consciousness reflecting dissolution from a standpoint within bourgeois society--as the contradictions in capitalism sharpen, as the middle class slips down into the proletariat, as tails become heads.

Upon entering its decline the middle class acquires a pre-revolutionary consciousness which mirrors its condition as a pre-proletariat formation. This consciousness can be summed up as rebellion, of being "in revolt [but] not against this order, against the rule of capital."²⁶ The basic system is not seriously questioned because an advance on either side, capital or labor, threatens the existence of the middle class caught between them.

dissimilar with respect to consciousness, the topic of this study. This resemblance in ideology can be ascribed to their position within bourgeois society (both are between capital and labor) and to their fate within that society (both sink into the proletariat).

²⁵Marx, "Critique," p. 58.

²⁶Marx, Class Struggles, p. 44.

Insofar as the crushing of intermediate positions between capital and labor is inherent in capitalist development, middle class rebellion is a temporary phenomenon encompassed within the period of the decline of the middle class into the proletariat. As an ideological expression of this decline, rebellion is a transitional phase between reconciliation and revolution, the two forms of consciousness found respectively before and after "the fall."

If the real movement of bourgeois society as a whole is its dissolution, the class form of which is the proletariat, and if the middle class--the "real social basis" of that society--is the class which is being dissolved, then the real movement of dissolution as expressed within bourgeois society itself is middle class rebellion. Bourgeois society is composed "of merely formal ceremonies encompassing the world of self-interest,"²⁷ of mercurial and quizzical forms representing the mercurial and quizzical content of egoism, of laws made to be broken and which are broken all the time.* In "the relationship of the world of self-interest to the laws governing it," the "cunning circumvention of these laws is that world's main art."²⁸ The study of rebellion, then, is not an investigation of a phenomenon exceptional to bourgeois society, but rather of that society's innermost process. For bourgeois society is the rule of, by, and for exceptions.

The material dissolution of bourgeois society assumes a class form in the disintegration of the middle class into the proletariat.

²⁷Karl Marx, "On The Jewish Question," in Loyd Easton and Kurt Guddat, Writings of the Young Marx on Philosophy and Society, Doubleday and Co., Inc., Garden City, New York, p. 246.

*"'In several cases,' [Senator Frank] Moss said, 'smoking products which look like cigarettes and, more importantly, are inhaled like cigarettes, masquerade as cigars, thereby avoiding not only the ban against broadcasting but cigarette taxation as well. . . .' William Kloefer of the Tobacco Institute said he finds it 'rather difficult' to understand why Moss is upset about the cigar ads. 'All the literature that condemns cigarettes does not condemn cigars at all,' he said. . . . 'We may have to have an amendment changing in some way, the definition of a cigarette,' says Moss." So on and so forth. AP dispatch from Washington, Gainesville Sun, Gainesville, Florida, January 10, 1972, p. 10-B.

²⁸Marx, "Jewish Question," p. 246.

This disintegration gives rise to the consciousness of rebellion in the afflicted class. Rebellion endures throughout the process of dissolution, and is the transition between reconciliation and revolution. But an examination of the consciousness of rebellion--or of any other form of consciousness, for that matter--degenerates into a discussion of "ideas" and "their" history, unless that which is assumed is first proven; namely, the material movement which rebellious consciousness reflects--the dissolution of the middle class.

While a full investigation of middle class dissolution is clearly beyond the scope of this work, it is possible in a brief presentation to indicate the presence of an economic decline in the middle class. Such a demonstration is adequate for the purposes of this study.

The ensuing sketch of the rise and fall of the petty bourgeoisie can be summarized as follows: the petty bourgeoisie emerged primarily from the small farmers and guild craftsmen of the feudal period. As capitalism developed and production units became more concentrated and centralized, the smaller production units became less feasible. The continued existence of small units even in such highly-developed capitalism as that of the United States indicates that the process of centralization of the means of production has not run its full course.* The major explanation for the endurance of the United States petty bourgeoisie, however, is found in the vast increase in employment opportunities in the tertiary sector of

*Nor is there reason to believe that the process will ever be complete, since the continued existence of small producers is of ideological value to the large producers. In economic terms the small producer "lives on a small island in a big new world; yet, as an ideological figment and a political force he has persisted as if he inhabited an entire continent. He has become the man through whom the ideology of utopian capitalism is still attractively presented to many of our contemporaries." (C. Wright Mills, White Collar: The American Middle Classes, Oxford University Press, New York, 1959, p. 34)

the economy.* The growth of the tertiary sector was not a topic of major concern for Marx; yet it is precisely this growth which averted the decline of the middle class for a considerable period of time.

The expansion of the tertiary sector is responsible for the postponement of the creation of a revolutionary proletariat in the United States. That the question is indeed one of postponement--not nullification--is visible in the precarious condition of the middle class employees in their tertiary retreat. The supply of education and skills is exceeding the demand. This oversupply constitutes a decline in that the tertiary sector continues to expand in absolute terms, but not enough to absorb the ever-increasing supply of educated and skilled personnel. The decline is the result of an increase in concentration and centralization of capital in the production and circulation sectors; for large capital fosters greater rationalization and standardization of work procedures which reduce the amount of education necessary to fulfill them. In short, the middle class is encountering the same fate in the tertiary sector which it formerly experienced in the production sector. But this time the middle class has nowhere to turn. It is finally losing its position on the quiet side of the fire.

Marx's account of the middle class in the production sector begins in the feudal era:

Trade and manufacture created the big bourgeoisie,

*C. Wright Mills discussed this increase as follows: the "old" middle class consists mainly of farmers and businessmen (free professionals comprise only 2 percent of this group, a percentage which remained constant between 1870 and 1940); therefore, his "old" middle class is an equivalent of the petty bourgeois capitalists. The "new" middle is composed of managers, salaried professionals, salespeople, and office workers; hence, it approximates the tertiary sector middle class employees. Mills' data shows the increasing importance of the tertiary sector employees as a component of the middle class and of the general labor force: between 1870 and 1940, the old middle class declined from 33 to 20 percent of the total labor force, whereas the new middle class rose from 6 to 25 percent (wage workers declined from 61 to 55 percent). In the same period the old middle class fell from 85 to 44 percent of the middle class, the new middle class rising from 15 to 56 percent. (*Ibid.*, pp. 63, 65)

in the guilds was concentrated the petty bourgeoisie, which [during the period of expansion of trade and manufacture in the 1700's] no longer was dominant in the towns as formerly but had to bow to the might of the great merchants and manufacturers. Hence the decline of the guilds, as soon as they came into contact with manufacture.²⁹

The intermediate forms of capitalist production which house the petty bourgeoisie are also destroyed as capitalism develops:

. . . capital destroys artisan labour, small working landownership, etc., and also itself in those forms in which it does not appear in contradiction to labour: petty capital, and intermediate or hybrid types between the classic, adequate mode of production of capital itself, and the old modes of production (in their original form), or as renewed on the basis of capital.³⁰

The petty bourgeoisie become either industrial capitalists, although "this happens rarely,"³¹ or sink into the proletariat, "partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which modern industry is carried on, . . . partly because their specialized skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production."³²

The plight of the small producer in the United States confirms Marx's thesis of the collapse of the middle class in the production sector. C. Wright Mills, for example, noted that "for the last hundred years the middle classes have been facing the slow expropriation of their holdings. . . ."³³

²⁹Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 53.

³⁰Karl Marx, Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 117.

³¹Ibid., p. 117.

³²Marx and Engels, Communist Manifesto, p. 97.

³³Mills, White Collar, p. xiv.

In the generation before World War II, the number of proprietors of manufacturing establishments declined 34 per cent; the number of wage and salary workers employed in manufacturing rose 27 per cent. . . . the small businessman can now be seen to exist only in the retail and service industries, and to a lesser extent in finance and construction.³⁴

Although the small farmer has fared somewhat better due to governmental support:

For at least fifty years the American ideal of the family-sized farm has been becoming more and more an ideal and less and less a reality. In 1945 full owners of farms made up only 6 per cent of the nation's civilian labor force. . . [and] 2 per cent of all farms contained 40 per cent of all farm land.³⁵

In brief, percentages of the labor force and of ownership of manufacturing establishments support Marx's thesis of a decline in petty bourgeois production in the development of capitalism. Middle class production in the United States today is a small anti-pasto in the daily regimen of solid fats and starches.*

³⁴Ibid., pp. 24-5.

³⁵Ibid., p. 19.

*"The Federal Trade Commission (FTC) accused four manufacturers. . . of illegally monopolizing the breakfast cereal business by a complex system of overpricing, false advertizing and keeping competitors out.

The FTC said these four firms [Kellogg Co., General Mills, General Foods Corp., and the Quaker Oats Co.] control 90 per cent of the \$650-million annual ready-to-eat breakfast cereal business.

Two smaller producers, [Nabisco, Inc. and Ralston Purina Co.], were not named in the action although the FTC said they 'contributed by acquiescence to the noncompetitive structure of the cereal market.'

Kellogg, the largest producer with 45 per cent of the cereal market, strongly denied the FTC allegations, claiming the complaint amounted to a belief that 'it's a crime to be big, it's wrong to be efficient, it's wrong to succeed.'

General Mills. . . said in a statement that there were hundreds of 'such situations in the United States, many of them in such industries as automobiles, tires, steel, glass and home appliances. . . . ready-to-eat cereals is not one of the economically key industries, and we are not only distressed but puzzled as to why we have been singled out as

The fate of the middle class in the tertiary or circulation sector is the same. The major difference is that here the decline appeared later than in the production sector.

The circulation sector circulates industrial capital. It helps turn commodities into money and money into commodities, or, stated differently, assists in the sales and purchases by capitalists.³⁶ The forms of industrial capital handled by the circulation sector are commodity-capital and money-capital respectively.³⁷ The circulation sector does not work directly in the phase of the immediate production of commodities, or productive capital.³⁸

The circulation sector has its own special forms of capital. First, there is commercial capital, which assists in the conversion of commodities into money (or commodity-capital into money-capital).³⁹ And secondly, there is money-dealing capital, which helps turn money into commodities (or money-capital into productive capital).⁴⁰ Together, these two forms of capital constitute the material basis of the circulation sector petty bourgeoisie.*

target No. 1. ' . . .

The FTC was deliberately vague in its proposals to remedy the alleged monopoly, saying it would make specific rulings during court consideration of the case, which [it] estimated would take several years." UPI dispatch from Washington, "Big 4 Cereal Monopoly Cited," St. Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Florida, January 25, 1972, pp. 1-A, 10-A.

³⁶Karl Marx, Capital, International Publishers, New York, 1970, Volume II, p. 129.

³⁷Ibid., p. 48.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 126-7.

³⁹Karl Marx, Capital, International Publishers, New York, 1970, Volume III, pp. 267-80.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 315-22.

*There is another group which is supported by the capitalists' revenue. This group constitutes a luxury for the capitalists, and is part of their personal consumption. (Marx, Capital, Volume II, p. 410. See also Karl Marx, The Grundrisse, David McLellan, Editor, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, p. 115) In the end, however, they help change the capitalists' commodities into money by their consumption, and, therefore, can be included in the first group. (Marx, Capital, Volume II, pp. 421, 458, 474)

"Bourgeois" is defined here as an owner of capital, not of the means of production (or of productive capital alone). The tertiary sector "petty bourgeoisie," then, consists of small owners of money-dealing and commercial capital. And these two forms of capital are truly capital. (Marx, Capital, Volume III, pp. 298, 315)

As in the case of productive capital, commercial capital and money-dealing capital tend to become more concentrated (or accumulated)⁴¹ and more centralized⁴² as capitalism develops. Therefore, the petty bourgeoisie in the circulation sector has to contend with the same economic forces found in the production sector.

The present reality of the United States supports Marx's thesis of the circulation sector petty bourgeoisie. Here, again, small enterprise is mostly a windsong through the canyons of large capital. With regard to commercial capital, after World War I

relatively big business, with superior efficiency and aggressive competitive tactics [entered] the traditionally small-business fields of local wholesaling and retailing of groceries, drugs, drygoods, hardware, and so forth. Although in such fields the position of a few dominant chains ordinarily did not rise above control of a substantial minority of the trade, their aggressive competition and low-price policies reduced the earnings of small competitors; further, they tended to displace the independent wholesaler firms whose functions they subsumed.⁴³

In 1947, approximately 50 percent of the dollar volume of retail sales was accounted for by about 400 retail companies and groups: "There is little doubt. . . that there was an increase in the volume of retailing concentrated in the hands of an infinitesimally small proportion of the over 1,500,000 retail enterprises that operated some 1,700,000 stores."^{44*}

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 299, 510-11.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 292, 435-41, 511-12.

⁴³Harold F. Williamson, The Growth of the American Economy, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Second Edition, 1959, p. 886.

^{44*}Ibid., p. 767. Combinations of small retailers for protection have their problems. The Supreme Court "upheld a lower court ruling that the supermarket chain, Topco Associates Inc., violated the Sherman Anti-trust Act by creating sales divisions and forbidding its retailers to make sales outside their own territory. . . .

Topco claimed that it needed its territorial divisions to maintain a private label program and that it could not exist in competition with

The centralization of money-dealing capital is also a fact of existence in the United States. In a study prepared at the request of the New York Stock Exchange, The Brookings Institution analyzed share ownership in the United States. A picture emerged of centralization of stock ownership.

In common stocks 2.1 percent of the shareholders owned 58 percent of the total shares or 50 percent of the market value. In preferred stocks 1.1 percent of the shareholders held 46 percent of the total shares or 45 percent of the market value. A breakdown of common stocks according to enterprise revealed that in manufacturing 57 percent of the shares and 58 percent of the market value belonged to 2.3 percent of the shareholders. In public utilities 46 percent of the shares and 36 percent of the market value were held by 1 percent of the shareholders. In finance and investment 53 percent of the shares and 45 percent of the market value were owned by 3 percent of the shareholders. In transportation 56 percent of the shares and 58 percent of the market value belonged to 1.5 percent of the shareholders. In preferred stocks the story of centralization is almost the same.⁴⁵

The tale is no different in another important component of money-dealing capital: "averaging their share in undistributed profits and their share in individual savings, it turns out that the top 1% own between 50 and 55% of all savings, individual and

the larger chains without it.

The association, . . . consists of about 25 small and medium independent regional supermarket chains whose purchasing agents obtain more than 1,000 different items, most of which have brand names owned by Topco. The members combined retail sales were \$2.3-billion in 1967. . . .

Justices Douglas, William J. Brennan Jr., Potter Stewart and Byron R. White joined Marshall in the Topco opinion. Justice Harry A. Blackmun [sic] concurred in the result, although he said a decision in the government's favor will tend to 'stultify' competition between Topco and the larger chains and 'the bigs. . . should find it easier to get bigger.'" "Anti-Trust Ruling Upheld," St. Petersburg Times, St. Petersburg, Florida, March 30, 1972, p. 15-A.

⁴⁵Lewis H. Kemmel, Share Ownership in the United States, George Banta Publishing Co., Menasha, Wisconsin, 1952, pp. 38-47.

corporate combined."⁴⁶

The situation of the small capitalist in the United States can be summed up in terms of "businessmen" in general, without distinguishing between production and circulation capital:

In the early nineteenth century, although there are no exact figures, probably four-fifths of the occupied population were self-employed enterprisers; by 1870, only about one-third, and in 1940, only about one-fifth, were still in this old middle class.⁴⁷

The proportion of small businessmen "has stood at about 8 per cent of the nation's working force, and in the urban world has declined from 17 per cent in 1870 to 12 per cent in 1940."⁴⁸

The United States Government recorded similar statistics:

Self-employed enterprisers constituted 36.9 per cent of the gainful workers in 1880, but only 18.8 percent in 1939. Of most importance to the subject is the decline of the independent businessman. Non-farm business enterprisers declined from 8 percent in 1880 to 6 percent in 1939.⁴⁹

In terms of absolute number, small firms in trade, service, and some branches of manufacturing remained "fairly constant from 1920 to 1950. But the progress of technology tended toward ever larger plants and corporations."⁵⁰

In general, then, middle class capitalism has declined in the United States. Although the small enterprise still exists, it bears a hot cross.

⁴⁶Victor Perlo and The Labor Research Association (Collaborator), The Income Revolution, International Publishers, New York, 1954, p. 58.

⁴⁷Mills, White Collar, p. 63.

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. 22-3.

⁴⁹House of Representatives, Committee on Small Business, United States Versus Economic Concentration and Monopoly, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1949, p. 96.

⁵⁰Williamson, American Economy, p. 860.

There is one last area of possible reprieve for the middle class: the increased employment opportunities in the circulation sector. This area corresponds to C. Wright Mills' "new" middle class of managers, salaried professionals, salespeople, and office workers.

Marx noted of all "members of society not directly engaged in reproduction:"

Their revenues are materially derived from wages (of the productive labourers), profit, and rent, and appear therefore as derivative vis-à-vis those primary revenues. But on the other hand the recipients of these revenues derived in this sense, draw them by virtue of their social function--as a king, priest, professor, prostitute, soldier, etc., and they may, therefore, regard these functions as the original sources of their revenue.⁵¹

The immediate fate of the circulation employees, then, is dependent on the fate of their functions in the course of developing capitalism.

The circulation sector in general is inherently a cost for productive capital: "The industrial capitalist, endeavours, therefore, to cut these expenses of circulation down to a minimum. . . ."52 Thus, the employees in the circulation sector are a cost for the productive capitalist.⁵³ What the circulation employee

costs the capitalist and what he brings in for him, are two different things. He creates no direct surplus-value, but adds to the capitalist's income by helping him to reduce the cost of realising surplus-value, inasmuch as he performs partly unpaid labour.⁵⁴

In other words, tertiary sector employees increase profit only in the

⁵¹Marx, Capital, Volume II, p. 372.

⁵²Marx, Capital, Volume III, p. 299.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 299, 316.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 300.

sense that they reduce costs. It is more economical for the producer capitalists to have their sales and purchases made by others who are specialized in these tasks. Instead of doing the accounting himself, for example, the producer capitalist hires an accountant.

In fulfilling his function, however, the circulation sector employee cheapens his function. In helping to cut costs, the employee cuts himself:

The commercial worker. . . belongs to the better-paid class of wage-workers. . . . Yet the wage tends to fall, even in relation to average labour, with the advance of the capitalist mode of production. This is due partly to the division of labour. . . [in which] the labourer's skill develops by itself through the exercise of his function, and all the more rapidly as division of labour makes it more one-sided. Secondly, because the necessary training, knowledge of commercial practices, languages, etc., is more and more rapidly, easily, universally and cheaply reproduced with the progress of science and public education The universality of public education enables capitalists to recruit such labourers from classes that formerly had no access to such trades and were accustomed to a lower standard of living. Moreover, this increases supply, and hence competition. With few exceptions, the labour-power of these people is therefore devaluated with the progress of capitalist production. Their wage falls, while their labour capacity increases.^{55*}

In doing his work, then, the better-paid circulation sector employee undoes his job. With diligence and efficiency, he performs his way right into the proletariat.**

The facts of existence in advanced capitalism today tend to sustain Marx's thesis of the proletarianization of the more-endowed circulation sector employee. First of all, however, it is important to note that

^{55*}ibid., pp. 300-1. In addition to the employees in commerce discussed above, Marx held that the other nonproduction employees underwent the same devaluation of their functions, e.g., for industrial managers see ibid., pp. 383-90.

**This reality of course exists on the aggregate level.

in the United States the composition of the labor force has passed through a major change. The majority of the occupied population is now located in the circulation sector. "In 1929, for every 100 engaged in commodity production in the United States, 74 were otherwise employed. In 1939, for every 100 in commodity production 87 were otherwise employed. And by 1949, for every 100 in commodity production 106 were otherwise employed."⁵⁶ According to C. Wright Mills, production workers declined as a percentage of the total employed from 77 percent in 1870 to 46 percent in 1940. Tertiary sector employment made up the difference, increasing from 23 percent to 54 percent (from 13 percent to 20 percent in servicing, 7 percent to 23 percent in distributing, and from 3 percent to 11 percent in co-ordinating).⁵⁷ More recent data point to the same circulation sector expansion. If the circulation sector is defined as (1) professional, technical, and kindred workers, (2) clerical and kindred workers, (3) managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm, (4) salesworkers, (5) private household workers, and (6) service workers, except private household; and if the production sector is defined as (1) farmers and farm managers, (2) craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, (3) operative and kindred workers, (4) farm laborers and foremen, and (5) laborers, except farm and mine, then the circulation sector has grown from 49.3 percent of the experienced labor force in 1954 to 59.2 percent in 1969.⁵⁸

This change in the composition of the labor force saved the middle class. "The crisis of the middle class after the 1860's, when independent small producers were being overwhelmed by industrial concentration and trustification, was partly overcome by the increase in their numbers in distributive services and by the multiplication

⁵⁶Victor Perlo, American Imperialism, International Publishers, New York, 1951, p. 225.

⁵⁷Mills, White Collar, p. 66.

⁵⁸United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Handbook of Labor Statistics 1970, Bulletin No. 1666, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 36.

of salaried employees and professions."⁵⁹ The net result of the circulation sector expansion, then, was that the decline of the middle class capitalist was not a decline in the middle class: the busted small entrepreneur often stayed on as a manager of his expropriated property.⁶⁰ In short, the growth in circulation sector employment allowed the middle class to cakewalk away from disaster.

The decline of middle class tertiary functions--their devaluation or proletarianization--has two aspects. First, there is the qualitative dimension in which middle class functions become "dishonoured" and lose their "semi-divine character."⁶¹ Involved here are such factors as a depreciation in status and a decrease in privileges. And secondly, there is the quantitative dimension composed of such features as a greater supply than demand for middle class personnel.

Behind both the qualitative and quantitative aspects of decline lurks the stiletto smile of unemployment. A rise in unemployment can only be regarded as the most ominous development possible for the middle class employees in the circulation sector. A rise in unemployment is the best indicator of a decline.

First of all, the bulk of unemployment is shifting from the production sector to the circulation sector. If the circulation sector is defined as wholesale and retail trade, service industries, finance, real estate, insurance, transportation, public utilities, and public administration, the percentage of long-term unemployment (27 weeks or more) accounted for by the circulation sector has increased from 35.8 percent in 1957 to 49.7 percent in 1969. If the circulation sector is defined as the occupations listed by the Labor Department (see the previous page), then this percentage has risen from 32.3 percent to 47.8 percent during the same period.⁶² As a

⁵⁹Lewis Corey, The Crisis of the Middle Class, Covici Friede, New York, 1935, p. 228.

⁶⁰Franklin Palm, The Middle Classes Then and Now, Macmillan Co., New York, 1936, p. 343.

⁶¹Marx, Grundrisse, p. 116.

⁶²United States Department of Labor, Handbook, p. 146.

proportion of the labor force as defined by the same occupations, the tertiary sector increased from 51.7 to 59.2 percent between 1957 and 1969.⁶³ Therefore, long-term unemployment in the tertiary sector has been increasing faster than the growth of that sector--about twice as fast.

The shift in the center of gravity of unemployment from the production to the circulation sector can be restated more simply as: the rate of increase in unemployment is higher in the circulation sector than in the production sector. Between April of 1970 and April of 1971, for example, general unemployment in the tertiary sector occupations (professional and technical, clerical, managers, proprietors, and sales) increased 42 percent, while in the production sector occupations (craftsmen, foremen, production workers, and laborers) general unemployment increased 39 percent.⁶⁴

Tertiary sector employees range from the "humblest to the highest."⁶⁵ The tertiary sector cannot be equated with the middle class. If the middle class employees in the tertiary sector are identified by a greater amount of education and skills, then this group can be defined as the occupations of professions, technicians, managers, and proprietors. Now it just so happens that these occupations suffer from the highest rate of increase in unemployment of all the tertiary sector occupations. Between April of 1970 and April of 1971, unemployment increased 58 percent among professionals and technicians, 54 percent among managers and proprietors, 34 percent among clerical workers, 42 percent among sales workers, and 36 percent among service workers.⁶⁶ A parallel situation exists in the production sector: the occupations requiring the most education and skills--craftsmen and foremen--are the most afflicted by an increasing rate of unemployment. In the same year noted above unemployment increased

⁶³Ibid., p. 36.

⁶⁴"Who Are The Unemployed?," U. S. News and World Report, U. S. News and World Report, Inc., Washington, D. C., April 19, 1971, p. 23.

⁶⁵Marx, Grundrisse, p. 115.

⁶⁶"Who Are The Unemployed?," p. 23.

57 percent among craftsmen and foremen, 46 percent among laborers, 29 percent among production workers, and decreased 4 percent among farm workers.^{67*}

In conclusion, the middle class was reprieved by an expanding tertiary sector: it has not been granted an acquittal. For the supply of middle class employees is exceeding the demand. Like the middle class capitalist, then, the middle class employee is still around. But he wears a watch which is losing time.

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The precursory exploration of the middle class just offered is one of several interpretations found in the research literature. Since the middle class employee is the key to the middle class under conditions of advanced capitalism,** the other approaches can be classified according to their view of the employee. In this regard research has gravitated around the following five positions:

1. The middle class employee is in fact not middle class but rather a member of the bourgeoisie. A representative of this viewpoint is Reinhard Bendix, Work and Authority in Industry: Ideologies of Management in the Course of Industrialization, New York, Wiley, 1956.

2. Then there is the opposite extreme: the middle class

^{67*}Ibid., p. 23. The dilemma of the middle class employee shows up in the plight of the college graduate. "A survey of 140 United States colleges and universities indicated that between March 1970 and March 1971, job bids for male B.A.'s dropped 61%, and a staggering 78% for Ph.D.'s." "Graduates and Jobs: A Grave New World," Time, Time, Inc., New York, May 24, 1971, p. 49. See also Dael Wolfle and Charles Kidd, "The Future Market for Ph.D.'s" and John W. Huther, "Small Market for Ph.D.'s: The Public Two-Year College," AAUP Bulletin, American Association of University Professors, Washington, D.C., March, 1972, pp. 5-20.

**In 1968, middle class employees (professionals, technical workers, managers, officials, and salaried proprietors) were about 9 percent of the United States population. In 1967, middle class capitalists (individual-owned businesses and farms) were about 4 percent of the total population. Statistical Abstract of The United States 1970, United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of The Census, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., pp. 5, 225, 469.

employee is not middle class because he is a member of the proletariat. Thorstein Veblen argued that technicians and engineers were a new sector of the working class. They were essential for revolution, but could not succeed by themselves. (The Engineers and The Price System, New York, 1921, pp. 95, 167-8). André Gorz is another prominent advocate of the "new working class" position (Strategy for Labor: A Radical Proposal, Boston, 1967).

The same basic argument is common in socialist journals. The editors of Socialist Revolution and an anonymous group in an Italian company contended that white-collar people are proletarians because they perform "functions [which] have been reduced to specialized, fragmented operations, analogous to those performed by factory laborers." Also, "white-collar employees are exploited just as industrial workers are exploited and, like industrial workers, no longer feel any interest in their work." ("Technicians and The Capitalist Division of Labor," Socialist Revolution, Agenda Publishing Co., San Francisco, California, Number 9, Vol. 2, No. 3, May-June, 1972, pp. 69, 70).

Herbert Gintis argued, "The objective interest of educated labor is opposed to capitalist economic institutions because of its alienation from work-process, product, and community." He defined the new "educated labor" as professionals and kindred employees, managers, clerical and kindred employees, sales people, craftsmen, foremen, and operatives. ("The New Working Class and Revolutionary Youth," Socialist Revolution, Vol. 1, No. 3, May-June, 1970, pp. 19, 35).

Issac Balbus equates the middle class employee with the proletariat by forming a third category to include both: the "subordinate class." This class can no longer be equated with "working class" because "the 'worker' is becoming an increasingly less numerous and less strategic element in the total work force."

He places into the "subordinate class of advanced capitalist societies" students and intellectuals. ("Ruling Elite Theory versus Marxist Class Analysis," Monthly Review, New York, Vol. 23, No. 1, May, 1971, p. 46).

The same viewpoint that the middle class employee is already a proletarian is common among radical student groups. The Interim National Organizing Committee for The New American Movement complained, "One of the most important devices by which the working class is kept disunited is through that section of bourgeois ideology that teaches millions of people who live miserable lives that are totally powerless and alienated, that they are really not part of the working class but rather part of some mystical middle class. We are told that the majority of people are really 'middle class' and thus that the problems of American workers have largely been solved or that if they are not solved, anyway they can't be solved because the vast middle class won't approve." ("The New American Movement: A Way to Overcome The Mistakes of The Past," Socialist Revolution, Number 7, Vol. 2, No. 1, January-February, 1971, p. 58).

The combination of the employee with the worker also characterizes the United States Government. Here the assumption is that the proletariat is actually middle class, rather than vice-versa. Nevertheless, one implication is clear for both cases, and it is not to the advantage of the worker: "Deliberately confusing the issue, . . . the government sets up productivity and labor-cost indexes combining the productive workers with the executives, officials and bureaucratic layers. The very expansion of the share of surplus value going to these groups is used to claim a decline in labor productivity and an increase in labor costs per unit, and to justify a demand for the speeding up of work and cutting of real wages of the productive workers." Victor Perlo, The Unstable Economy: Booms and Recessions in the U.S. Since 1945, International Publishers, New York, 1973, p. 62.

3. The third position on the middle class employee is a combination of the first and second viewpoints: some of the employees are viewed as bourgeois, others as proletariat. Ralf Dahrendorf held that the middle class "bureaucrats" are bourgeois, whereas white-collar workers are of the proletariat. The middle class employee in the end is really part of the increasing heterogeneity of the bourgeois and proletarian classes. Therefore, the "new middle class" in actuality "neither has been nor is it ever likely to be a class in any sense of this term." (Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1968, pp. 55, 56).

Victor M. Pisani argued that workers in the commercial sector (white-collar) are proletarians, but not workers in the revenue sector because they are paid out of the surplus. He disagreed with C. Wright Mills' placement of white-collar employees in the middle class on the basis that they do not own their instruments of work and are not paid out of the surplus. Administrators, on the other hand, are paid out of the surplus, and consequently are members of the bourgeoisie. (Elementos teóricos para el estudio de las clases medias, Editorial La Enseñanza Viva, 1969, pp. 32, 37, 40-1).

Other socialists beside Pisani make similar divisions. Alan Hunt contended that middle class employees can be divided into two groups: those whose functions "are closely integrated with the successes and failures of capitalism, and those whose primary function is the selling of their labour power." Managers and administrators are coupled with the capitalists. Professionals, technicians, foremen and inspectors, clerks, salesmen and shop assistants are all placed with the proletariat. ("Class Structure in Britain Today," Marxism Today, Communist Party, London, England, Vol. 14, No. 6, June, 1970, pp. 170, 171).

4. According to this theoretical position, the middle class employee is indeed middle class. Moreover, this school asserts, there is no general tendency for this sector of the middle class

to decline into the proletariat. The middle class employee is a distinct entity which is firmly situated.

This argument can be found in Holcombe's The Middle Classes in American Politics; Thomas Vernor Smith, The Promise of American Politics, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1936; and Henry Grayson, The Crisis of the Middle Class, Rinehart, New York, 1955. T.B. Bottomore claimed that Marxism must be modified due to (among other things) the expansion of the new middle classes (Classes in Modern Society, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, England, 1965). The same assumption that the employee is a distinct entity appears in the vehemence of the attacks of the Progressive Labor Party on the "new working class theory" (the second theoretical position). (Progressive Labor, Progressive Labor Party, Vol. 6, No. 5, October, 1968, pp. 88-98, 101).

The assumption that the middle class employee is firmly situated is common in sociology articles. Robert Faris claimed that the "United States is becoming a middle-class nation. . . ." With regard to power and prestige, "the great middle is steadily absorbing both extremes. . . ." The lower class is rising into the middle class, having gained disproportionately in terms of income and life expectancy. ("The Middle Class from a Sociological Viewpoint," Social Forces, Vol. 39, No. 1, October, 1960, pp. 1-2). Mark Lefton held that the proletariat with "greater success experiences (higher education, higher skill level, less unemployment experience, etc.)" were internalizing middle class "norms and values." ("The Blue Collar Worker and the Middle Class Ethic," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 51, No. 2, January, 1967, pp. 162, 169). Gavin Mackenzie basically agrees that the United States proletariat is rising into the middle class. Several traditions--the lack of a feudal heritage and the "prevailing ideology of equality"--make the "probability of embourgeoisement . . . greater in the United States than in Europe." ("The Economic Dimensions of Embourgeoisement," The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1967, pp. 41-2).

5. Finally, there is the theoretical position that the middle class employees are indeed middle class. However, their social and material situation is becoming more precarious. At least a significant portion of them is falling into the proletariat.

Perhaps the most well-known exponent of this thesis among contemporary scholars is C. Wright Mills: "Objectively, we have seen that the structural position of the white-collar mass is becoming more and more similar to that of the wage-workers. Both are, of course, propertyless, and their incomes draw closer and closer together. All the factors of their status position, which have enabled white-collar workers to set themselves apart from wage-workers, are now subject to definite decline. Increased rationalization is lowering the skill levels and making their work more and more factory-like. As high-school education becomes more universal. . . it is clear that the white-collar job market will include more wage-worker children." (White Collar: The American Middle Classes, Oxford University Press, New York, 1959, p. 297).

Lewis Corey maintained that the functions of most of the "new" middle class once were in fact middle class but have since been collectivized and proletarianized. The wages of employees are about the same as the proletarians' wages, and this tendency continues to increase. The same is true for employment security and privileges. The main difference between the middle class employee and the proletariat is one of consciousness: as far as the former is concerned, "There is still an ideological barrier [to socialism and the proletariat], but the economic barrier exists no longer." (The Crisis of the Middle Class, Covici, Friede, New York, 1935, pp. 248, 254, 257, 259).

A focus on ideology as the major distinction between the employee and the proletariat also characterizes articles by members of the Communist Party U.S.A.. Hyman Lumer concluded that "the

growing proportion of clerical, technical, engineering and scientific workers are no less a part of the production work force than are the blue-collar workers. . . . True, this leads to a mounting heterogeneity of the working class and the entry into it of a growing mass of individuals who tend not to look upon themselves as workers. But this is only one side of the process. On the other side, it is also a process of proletarianization of intellectuals, depriving them of their independent status and increasingly reducing them to the status of wage workers." Lumer goes on to note of the white-collar group, "Their growing influx represents simply the fact that with advancing technology manual labor is increasingly replaced by mental labor--a fact also clearly recognized by Marx in his day." The influx is not limited to the lower level of the white-collar employees: "More and more, in their 'war on paper,' the big corporations are using computers to replace not only masses of clerical workers but also a whole intermediate layer of management employees. . . . Increasingly, the lot of these white-collar workers approaches that of blue-collar workers." ("Marx and the Historic Role of the Working Class," Political Affairs, Political Affairs Publishers, Inc., New York, Vol. XLVII, No. 1, January, 1968, pp. 11, 12). In the same issue Victor Perlo ("Will American Labor Lead the Socialist Revolution?") writes: "With the rise in the number of white collar workers, the objective social and economic differences between the mass of white collar workers and manual workers have dwindled. . . . Of course, the consciousness of [the white-collar group] lags behind this objective change, but this lag also is diminishing." (p. 18).

Something approaching a debate has taken place between the exponents of this position and a variety of the first position (that the process of proletarianization of the middle class employees is already complete). Political Affairs reprinted "Technological Class: The Revolutionary Force" by George Shenkar, because it contained the "new working class theory" prevalent in The New Left. Shenkar argued that a "new" technological class

arises in capitalism, a class which is between capital and labor. The technologists will lead the revolution, not the workers. In the new society classes will exist--the technologists and the workers--but they will be allies because economic exploitation will have disappeared. (Vol. XLVIII, No. 4, April, 1969).

David Laibman responded to Shenkar as follows: the "production managers, researchers, designers, engineers and scientists--the 'technological class'" actually appeared in capitalism along with the skilled workers. "Because of the years of training," the technological group received more money and had a different lifestyle. Since "training could be afforded only by a few. . . this stratum, historically, has been of middle-class status." But as the concentration and centralization of capital increased, the technological sector lost its former independence, "and it became more and more a part of the skilled working force." Today this group for the most part does "routine and relatively unskilled work," and consequently, "the absorption of intermediate strata into the working class has proceeded farther in the U.S. than anywhere else in the capitalist world." The strata's "conditions of life. . . are increasingly undermining their protected status, their job security and their 'prosperity,' making joint action as part of the entire working class much more possible and likely than any sort of independent political role." ("Technologists--Part of the Working Class," Political Affairs, Vol. XLVIII, No. 4, April, 1969, pp. 53, 54, 55, 57).

Of all the general positions just cited, the fifth is closest to that of this examination. Only the first position (that the employees are bourgeois) and the fourth (that the middle class is eternal) are totally incompatible with this work's identification of the social basis underlying middle class ideology.

Unfortunately, all of the above positions are as long on claims as they are short on empirical evidence. The social and economic bases of the middle class are as varied as the causes of cancer. This complex material reality is precisely part of what "middle class" means. To understand this reality, therefore, requires a concrete analysis. Theoretical speculations, in and of themselves, will be necessarily inadequate.

* * *

A fall in private enterprise, a rise in circulation, a decline in circulation--that is the interpretation of the middle class accepted in this examination. It is a historical movement from poker to bridge to pinochle.

The brief outline of the economic condition of the middle class in the United States barely touches the surface of the topic. Clearly, much more work is needed on the material basis of this class in the general contemporary world. Difficulties of general theory, definition, and appropriate indicators abound. This work did not intend to solve any of these deeper problems of approach or conclusive data, but to show one thing only: various tendencies found in the United States today support Marx's long-term thesis of the economic decline of the middle class as capitalism advances. This rudimentary confirmation of Marx's economic analysis of the middle class was designed to show the relevancy of his analyses of middle class ideology: nothing more.

Even if the reader accepts the thesis of economic decline, it would be a serious misjudgment to conclude that a disappearance of the United States middle class would be quick and neat. For one thing, although the rate of increase in unemployment is disproportionately high for middle class employees, in absolute terms the rate of unemployment still remains lower for these employees. In February of 1972, for example, the unemployment rate for the professions and technical workers was 2.3 percent, 1.9 percent for managers and administrators (except farm), 4.9 percent for sales workers, 4.8 percent for clerical workers, 8.7 percent for blue-collar workers, 6.4 percent for service workers, and 3.4 percent for farm workers.⁶⁸ And for another, this is not the first time the middle class has faced difficulties, both as small capitalists and as employees.*

⁶⁸United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Employment and Earnings, United States Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., March, 1972, p. 30.

*The first occasion was the Great Depression. (Corey, Crisis of the Middle Class, p. 229)

This suggests that the decline of the middle class occurs in cycles, not in a straight line. The cyclical pattern can be ascribed to the fact that the middle class employees--the bulk of the middle class--rise and fall with the cycles of production. As Marx noted of this group of employees, "The capitalist increases the number of these labourers whenever he has more value and profits to realise. The increase of this labour is always a result, never a cause of more surplus-value."⁶⁹

The central assumption of this work, then, is that while the decline of the middle class can only be a material phenomenon, the duration of this decline will be heavily moderated by the type of consciousness formed by the middle class.

⁶⁹Marx, Capital, Volume III, p. 301.

CHAPTER II

TWO TYPOLOGIES OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND TWO "REACTIONS"

Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past. The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living.¹

As far as the middle class is concerned, capitalism is becoming a corpse with a Christmas present. Yesterday, small capital listed in the swells of large capital. Then the tertiary sector of the economy expanded, and capitalism came forth bearing gifts of bountiful new employment. Today, these gifts are not being created quickly enough.

The crisis of the middle class in advanced capitalist nations promises to be a key feature of the close of the twentieth century. The circumstances "directly encountered" by the major portion of the middle class--the tertiary sector employees--grow out of the steady devaluation of its functions. Rising unemployment is one such circumstance: it is the palmprint of creeping capitalism.

But if the circumstances encountered by the middle class are the circumstances of advanced capitalism, some of the circumstances "given and transmitted" to advanced capitalism are those of the middle class. The necessity of increasing profit by reducing costs, among which are included the tertiary sector middle class, is the last contradiction of capitalism; for the distraught and dismissed middle class

¹Karl Marx, The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 15.

employees gradually are filling the ranks of the revolutionary proletariat--the class formed by the disintegration of bourgeois society. In the end, then, the crisis of the middle class is the crisis of capitalism itself, the collapse of its Maginot Line.

For Marx, "Nothing can result at the end of a process that did not occur at the beginning as a pre-requisite and condition. On the other hand, however, the result must contain all the elements of the process."² The elements comprising the process of middle class decline are just as important as the end or result of this process, the disappearance of the middle class into the proletariat. In fact, the end is inseparable from the means to it. The fall of the middle class includes the elements of the process of decline. And one of the most important elements is the form of consciousness or ideology* appearing in the middle class during its dissolution. This consciousness is the consciousness of rebellion.

Marx's writings contain three areas of insights into rebellious consciousness. First, there is the typologies of consciousness found in The Poverty of Philosophy and The Communist Manifesto. In these typologies rebellion is identified as petty bourgeois socialism, German or "true" socialism, and critical-utopian socialism and communism. Secondly, in a letter Marx cited the feudal and primitive orientations which were reactions to bourgeois society. And thirdly, in several of his works and letters Marx made specific references to middle class rebellion.

Readers familiar with Marx's writings may be surprised by the above selection of themes. It is precisely these three general areas of Marx's works which perhaps have received the least attention. And when these areas are discussed, they usually are brought up only to

²Karl Marx, The Grundrisse, David McLellan, Editor, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, p. 78.

*As with "middle class" and "petty bourgeoisie," the terms "consciousness" and "ideology" are employed here interchangeably. "Ideology is a process accomplished by the so-called thinker consciously, indeed, but with a false consciousness. The real motives impelling him remain unknown to him, otherwise it would not be an ideological process at all. Hence he imagines false or apparent motives." "Consciousness" in this

point out their historical irrelevancy. The non-Marxist Francis B. Randall, for example, noted in his introduction to The Communist Manifesto that the chapter presenting the typology of consciousness is "only of historical interest, and not much of that."³ Among Marxist scholars the general lack of concern over the three areas is due in part to a premature application of Marx's long-range, two-class theory to the present; for if the middle class is truly unimportant in the contemporary world, then there is little point in studying its ideology.

Is an examination of Marx's discussions of middle class ideology only a futile exercise in scholasticism? Material developments indicate quite the opposite. The consciousness of rebellion studied by Marx was generated by the first stage of the decline of the middle class which was transpiring in his time. This stage was the demise of the middle class producer. Now the second stage of middle class decline is starting, the decline of the middle class employees in the tertiary sector. Unquestionably, differences will arise between the rebellious consciousness formed in the first and second stages; however, the two varieties still belong to the same general order because the small capitalists and better-paid employees are both in the middle class, i.e., between the classes of capital and labor. Moreover, the rebellious consciousness reflecting the first stage of decline constitutes the tradition of the rebellious consciousness appearing in the second stage. Marx's studies of middle class rebellion in the first stage, then, will become even more relevant as the second stage of middle class dissolution increases in size and intensity.*

work, therefore, is synonymous with false consciousness, or "ideology." Frederick Engels, "Letter to Franz Mehring (1893)," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Correspondence, International Publishers, New York, 1935, p. 511.

³Francis B. Randall, "Introduction," The Communist Manifesto, Washington Square Press, Inc., New York, 1965, p. 33.

*The development of the crisis of middle class employees may be accountable in part for the fact that several of Marx's studies of middle class rebellion were either unavailable in English or not brought together in a coherent edition until quite recently.

Marx's typologies of consciousness are an appropriate point of departure for investigating his discussions of middle class rebellion. The consciousness of rebellion does not exist apart from the other forms of consciousness and their respective classes. Rebellion is not a self-enclosed entity because its basis, as with all the other types of consciousness, is a class. And classes only exist in terms of each other.* Moreover, the changing form of petty bourgeois consciousness cannot be explained apart from the changes in the position of the middle class with respect to other classes. This changing form is from the consciousness of reconciliation, which reflects an intermediate position between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, to the consciousness of revolution reflecting the position of the proletariat alone.** The consciousness of rebellion is the transitional phase reflecting the decline in the middle class position.

Both of these considerations of classes and the changing form of middle class consciousness related to them are present in Marx's typologies of consciousness. Both of the typologies are summarized below. An important feature is that the two typologies are not identical, and the differences between them reflect the development of bourgeois society in Marx's time. Following the presentation of the two typologies, then, there is an attempt to utilize these differences so as to illuminate still further the context in which the consciousness of rebellion appears.

The first typology is in Marx's The Poverty of Philosophy which

*"The separate individuals form a class only in so far as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors." Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology, International Publishers, New York, 1969, pp. 48-9.

**False consciousness is meaningless without true consciousness somewhere in society. And true consciousness pertains to the proletariat for the most part: "In the development of productive forces there comes a stage at which productive forces and means of intercourse are called into existence, which, under the existing relationships, . . . are no longer productive but destructive forces (machinery and money); and connected with this a class is called forth. . . which, ousted from society, is forced into the most decided antagonism to all other classes; a class . . . from which emanates the consciousness of the necessity of a funda-

was written in 1846-47. The consciousness of bourgeois economy re-presents the bourgeois class, socialism and communism the proletariat, and Proudhonist synthesizing the petty bourgeois class.

Bourgeois economy

Bourgeois consciousness is divided into two schools.

The fatalists.--This school is composed of two subgroups. (i) The classics, such as Smith and Ricardo, believed that poverty was a temporary phenomenon which would disappear. This conclusion reflected the early period of capitalism (the late 1700's and early 1800's) when class antagonisms were underdeveloped. (ii) The romantics arose out of the classics. They were "proudly disdainful" of the proletariat. Whereas the classics were "merely naive" in their lack of concern for poverty, the romantics practiced their indifference with "coquetry."

The non-fatalists.--This school is also composed of two subgroups. (i) The humanitarians "sincerely" deplore "the distress of the proletariat," and advise "the bourgeoisie to put a reasoned ardor into production." The humanitarian consciousness "rests on interminable distinctions between theory and practice, between principles and results, between idea and application, . . . between right and fact, between the good side and the bad side." (ii) The philanthropic consciousness "is the humanitarian school carried to perfection. It denies the necessity of antagonism; it wants to turn all men into bourgeois; it wants to realize theory in so far as it is distinguished from practice and contains no antagonism." Its goal is "to retain the categories which express bourgeois relations, without the antagonism which constitutes them and is inseparable from them." By idealizing reality the philanthropists "think they are seriously fighting bourgeois practice, and they are more bourgeois than the others."

Socialism and revolutionary communism

Socialism.--Socialism appeared in the same historical period as the bourgeois classics. This was the early period of capitalism in which the "proletariat is not yet sufficiently developed to constitute itself as a class. . . and the productive forces are not yet sufficiently developed. . . to enable us to catch a glimpse of the material conditions necessary for the emancipation of the proletariat and for the formation of a new society. . . ." Due to the lack of material development, the socialists are relegated to being "merely utopians who, to meet the wants of the oppressed classes, improvise systems and go in search of a regenerating science."

Revolutionary communism.--This consciousness grows out of the socialist mentality. As the "struggle of the proletariat assumed

mental revolution, the communist consciousness, which may, of course, arise among the other classes too through the contemplation of the situation of this class." (Ibid., pp. 68-9)

clearer outlines, [the socialists] no longer need to seek science in their minds; they have only to take note of what is happening before their eyes and to become its mouthpiece. So long as they. . . are at the beginning of the struggle, they see in poverty nothing but poverty, without seeing in it the revolutionary, subversive side, which will overthrow the old society. From this moment, science, which is a product of the historical movement, has associated itself consciously with it, has ceased to be doctrinaire and has become revolutionary."

Proudhonist synthesizing

Marx held that Pierre-Joseph Proudhon epitomized petty bourgeois ideology. "Every economic relation [for Proudhon] has a good and a bad side. . . . He sees the good side expounded by the economists; the bad side he sees denounced by the Socialists. He borrows from the economists the necessity of eternal relations; he borrows from the Socialists the illusion of seeing in poverty nothing but poverty. He is in agreement with both in wanting to fall back upon the authority of science. Science for him reduces itself to the slender proportions of a scientific formula; he is the man in search of formulas. Thus it is that M. Proudhon flatters himself on having given a criticism of both political economy and communism: he is beneath them both. Beneath the economists, since, as a philosopher who has at his elbow a magic formula, he thought he could dispense with going into purely economic details; beneath the Socialists, because he has neither the courage enough nor insight enough to rise, be it even speculatively, above the bourgeois horizon. . . . He wants to soar as the man of science above the bourgeois and the proletarians; he is merely the petty bourgeois, continually tossed back and forth between capital and labour, political economy and communism."⁴

Marx's second typology of ideologies appears in The Communist Manifesto. This work was written about one year after The Poverty of Philosophy.

Reactionary socialism

This category of ideology is composed of three subgroups:

Feudal socialism.--This consciousness characterizes the aristocracy in its reaction to the advancing bourgeoisie. The aristocrats "took their revenge by singing lampoons on their new master, and whispering in his ears sinister prophecies of coming catastrophe." Feudal socialism is "half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future. . . but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history." In its attempt to win the support of the people against the bourgeoisie, the aristocracy "waved the proletarian alms-bag in front for a banner;" while

⁴Karl Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, International Publishers, New York, 1971, pp. 123-6.

some of the people were fooled, others "deserted with loud and irreverent laughter."

Clerical socialism is a variety of feudal socialism. "Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a socialist tinge. . . . Christian socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the vexation of the aristocrat."

Petty bourgeois socialism.--As in the case of the aristocracy, the material conditions of the petty bourgeoisie "pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society." Petty bourgeois socialism sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and "dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production." In its "positive aims," however, petty bourgeois socialism "aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange within the framework of the old property relations that have been. . . exploded by those means." In either case, petty bourgeois socialism is "reactionary and Utopian." Its "last words" are "corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture."

German or "true" socialism.--This ideology resulted from the import of French ideas reflecting the reality of bourgeois society in France into Germany, "at a time when the [German] bourgeoisie. . . had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism." In the German context, the French literature "lost all its immediate practical significance and assumed a purely literary aspect" in which the German literati attempted to annex "the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view." German socialism took up the task of protecting the absolutist status quo, "hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition." It represented the "petty-bourgeois Philistine" threatened with certain destruction "on the one hand from the concentration of capital, on the other from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat."

Conservative or bourgeois socialism

This category is the same as humanitarianism-philanthropy, although Marx placed Proudhon in this group. They seek to retain "the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat."

Critical-utopian socialism and communism

This category is the same as socialism. "Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to fantastic ones." They appeal to "society at large," and use only peaceful means such as "the force of example" and "small experiments necessarily doomed to failure." Since history keeps moving, they end up trying "to reconcile the class antagonisms," and, therefore, sink into conservative or bourgeois socialism.⁵

⁵Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto, in Dirk J. Struik, Editor, Birth of The Communist Manifesto, International Publishers, New York, 1971, pp. 113-23.

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Two points can be made about Marx's typologies. (1) The categories of consciousness are not formulated according to the rules of formal logic. First, formal logic requires that the categories of a typology be mutually exclusive, that one category does not include another. Marx characterized the category of Proudhonist synthesizing as containing elements of the socialist mentality (the search for formulas and the inability to identify the material causes of poverty) and elements of the consciousness of bourgeois economy (the belief that the existing relationships of production are eternal, a value on science, and "good side, bad side" reasoning). And second, formal logic demands that typological categories be exhaustive, that a category must contain all of its subject matter. In Marx's typology in The Communist Manifesto the category of petty bourgeois socialism is followed by the category of German or "true" socialism--a form of petty bourgeois socialism.

Marx's typologies do not meet the requirements of formal logic because they refer to phenomena in the world of sense-experience. And that world functions dialectically, with interdependence and development. The attempt to freeze this reality into the hard-and-fast demands of pure logic necessarily results in an idealization of reality. In fact, such an attempt reflects a form of consciousness which is being examined in this work. It is a boat made of soap.

(2) The basic difference in the two typologies is that The Communist Manifesto has collapsed all the types of consciousness--except revolutionary communism--in The Poverty of Philosophy typology into one category. Bourgeois economism, humanitarianism and philanthropy, socialism (or critical-utopian socialism and communism), and Proudhonist synthesizing are all lumped together under conservative or bourgeois socialism.

Both the dialectical approach and the collapse of categories reflect the development of bourgeois society in Marx's time. He hinted at this development in the preface to the 1872 edition of The Communist Manifesto. Marx noted that the original typology "is

deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847. . . . the political situation has been entirely changed [since that year]. . . ."6 The change Marx mentioned can be identified as the development of the bourgeoisie from revolution to reaction.

Marx and Engels had anticipated in theory the period of bourgeois reaction.* This stage of bourgeois development, however, did not actually appear until "the defeat of the Paris workers in June 1848. . . ."7 Marx's accounts of the events in France, then, can be used to construct a model of bourgeois development. And all of the categories of consciousness in both typologies can be affixed to periods and stages designated by the model.

Marx clearly developed the categories of consciousness with such a model in mind. For example, critical-utopian socialism and communism is associated by Marx with an early period and revolutionary communism with a late period of bourgeois development. The French crisis--which took place after the typologies were formulated--can serve as an empirical case for illustrating the model which previously had existed only theoretically.

As was noted, the two major periods of bourgeois development are revolution and reaction. Each historical period has its own configuration of categories of consciousness. The period of reaction is of greater interest for this study. It is broken down into four stages. Each stage of the reactionary period consists of a peculiar constellation of consciousness types characterizing the various classes.

Bourgeois revolution

Marx noted, "Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, storm swiftly from success to success; their dramatic effects outdo each other; men and things seem set in sparkling brilliants;

⁶Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "German Edition of 1872," in Struik, p. 130.

*For example, see The Communist Manifesto, pp. 95-102.

⁷Frederick Engels, "German Edition of 1890," in Struik, p. 139.

ecstasy is the everyday spirit. . . ."8

In this initial period of storm (i) the ideology of classical bourgeois economy, with all its naivete regarding poverty, characterizes the bourgeois class; (ii) critical-utopian socialism and communism, the consciousness of idealistic solutions for working class problems, represents the proletariat in this early period of underdeveloped class formations; (iii) petty bourgeois socialism, the desire to maintain the gild mode of production, is the mentality of the petty bourgeoisie, along with German or "true" socialism in areas where the bourgeois revolution is only a cerebral incident; (iv) and feudal socialism, the alms-bag consciousness, pertains to the declining aristocracy.

Bourgeois reaction

Although bourgeois revolutions are virile, "they are short-lived; soon they have attained their zenith, and a long crapulent depression lays hold of society before it learns soberly to assimilate the results of its storm-and-stress period."<9

Based on the events in France from 1848-1851,* the reactionary period can be divided into four stages, each containing its own pattern of consciousness types.

Stage I.--(i) Fatalism, or the coquettish disdain of the working class, and humanitarianism-philanthropy, with its separation of theory and practice, characterize the bourgeoisie.** (ii) The proletarian

⁸Marx, 18th Brumaire, p. 19.

⁹Ibid., p. 19.

*These events can be summarized: the bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, and the proletariat united against (and defeated politically) the aristocracy. Then the proletariat was tossed out of the coalition. Next, the petty bourgeoisie was forced out. Thereafter, the Republican faction was dumped, leaving the big bourgeoisie in control of parliament. But then the President, Bonaparte, began to undercut the big bourgeoisie, who formed a coalition with the Republicans and petty bourgeoisie. The defensive tactic failed when the big bourgeoisie split. Bonaparte performed a coup d'etat, and reinstated the finance aristocracy.

**Fatalism appeared in the ringing denunciation of communism and socialism by the Republicans. Also, it assisted in smashing the pro-

consciousness is predominantly critical-utopian socialism and communism.* (iii) The petty bourgeoisie shares with the bourgeoisie the ideology of humanitarianism-philanthropy, or the denial of an insuperable antagonism between large capital and labor. However, the petty bourgeoisie includes catechisms of critical-utopian socialism and communism. Together, the two ideologies constitute a form of Proudhonist synthesizing, or the combination of bourgeois and proletarian consciousnesses within the bourgeois framework.** (iv) The feudal aristocracy at this point is no longer an autonomous social element, "for despite its feudal coquetry and pride of race, [the aristocracy] has been rendered thoroughly bourgeois by the development of modern society."¹⁰

Stage II. --In this stage of the period of bourgeois reaction,

letariat in June of 1848--its ally only four months earlier. (Ibid., pp. 28, 34) The separation of theory and practice contained in humanitarianism-philanthropy was evident in the Republican Constitution, which provided for freedom in theory, the abrogation of freedom in practice. For example, the allocation of real power by the Constitution to the executive vitiated the declared rule by the people's representatives in the National Assembly. (Ibid., pp. 30-1)

*Following its defeat in June of 1848, the French proletariat threw itself "into doctrinaire experiments, exchange banks and workers' associations, hence into a movement in which it renounces the revolutionizing of the old world by means of the latter's own great, combined resources, and seeks, rather, to achieve its salvation behind society's back, in private fashion, within its limited conditions of existence. . . ." (Ibid., p. 24) The proletariat was unable to "rediscover revolutionary greatness in itself. . . until all classes [the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie] with which it contended in June themselves lie prostrate beside it." (Ibid., p. 24) The latter event took place with Bonaparte's coup in December of 1851.

The establishment of the Paris Commune in 1871, which was more revolutionary than the 1848 proletarian uprising, indicates that the general movement throughout the reactionary period was a transition by the proletariat from critical-utopianism toward revolutionary communism.

**After smashing the proletariat, the bourgeoisie turned against the petty bourgeoisie. The latter then joined the workers in February of 1849, and formed the Montagne, a social democratic party. "From the social demands of the proletariat the revolutionary point was broken off and a democratic turn given to them; from the democratic claims of the petty bourgeoisie the purely political form was stripped off and their socialist point thrust forward." (Ibid., p. 50)

¹⁰Ibid., p. 48.

with the petty bourgeoisie and proletariat allied against it, the bourgeoisie begin to acquire

a true insight into the fact that all the weapons which it had forged against feudalism turned their points against itself, that all the means of education which it had produced rebelled against its own civilization, that all the gods which it had created had fallen away from it. It understood that all the so-called bourgeois liberties and organs of progress attacked and menaced its class rule at its social foundation and its political summit simultaneously, and had therefore become "socialistic."¹¹

(i) The bourgeoisie cast aside humanitarianism-philanthropy and are left with the consciousness of fatalism.* (ii) As was noted, the overall tendency of the proletariat is to move from critical-utopian socialism and communism toward revolutionary communism. Its alliance with the petty bourgeoisie does not support this transition.** (iii) Two forms of bourgeois socialism, humanitarianism-philanthropy and Proudhonist synthesizing, along with critical-utopian socialism and communism continue to prevail in the petty bourgeois class.***

¹¹Ibid., p. 65.

*The petty bourgeoisie left the National Assembly in June of 1849, after its bill to impeach President Bonaparte was defeated. The big bourgeois party of Order was left with a majority in the Assembly. It "celebrated by means of invectives against the republic and the Constitution, of curses on all future, present and past revolutions, including that which its own leaders had made, and in laws by which the press was muzzled, association destroyed and the state of siege regulated as an organic institution." (Ibid., p. 59)

**The proletariat was unable "to win energy from the connections newly entered into. . . ." (Ibid., p. 24)

***Although it had walked out of the Assembly, the petty bourgeois social democrats ran for office in the by-elections in March of 1850. They achieved a solid electoral victory. "Just as the democrats had, in revolutionary fashion, agitated the minds and raged during the constitutional election contest, so now, when it was requisite to prove the serious nature of that victory arms in hand, did they in constitutional fashion preach order, majestic calm, . . . lawful action, that is to say, blind subjection to the will of the counter-revolution, which imposed itself as the law." (Ibid., p. 70) The bourgeoisie responded in a manner which showed the futility of the

Stage III.--The hard-nosed fatalism of the bourgeois class toward the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat starts to undercut its own political power. In pushing down these two classes, the bourgeoisie discover they are driving a wedge between themselves and the bulk of society.

(i) The bourgeois class flinches at the fate of isolation which it is creating for itself. The bourgeoisie dawns the forms of consciousness of the reformist bourgeois socialism and the theory-practice separation of humanitarianism-philanthropy to woo back the petty bourgeois class from its coalition with the proletariat.*

(ii) The petty bourgeois class joins the bourgeoisie.**

legalism of bourgeois socialism and the pacifism of critical-utopianism in this stage: it outlawed universal suffrage by which the petty bourgeoisie had won the elections.

*Once in clear control of the National Assembly, the bourgeois party of Order began to split into two factions, the big industrialists and large landowners. The split benefited President Bonaparte, who gained control of the army by dismissing in a presidential decree General Changarnier. Changarnier had been loyal to the Assembly.

In giving up the army, "the party of Order declares that the bourgeoisie has forfeited its vocation to rule. . . . Only the appeal to forceless principles remained to it now, to principles. . . which one prescribes for others in order to be able to move all the more freely oneself." (*Ibid.*, pp. 88-9) In an attempt to hold back Bonaparte, Order formed a coalition with the ousted Republicans and Social Democrats. Without an army, however, the only weapons of the bourgeois class were more legal formalities. "They themselves could not deny the President the constitutional authority to dismiss a general. They only raged because he made an unparliamentary use of his constitutional right." (*Ibid.*, p. 91)

**The bourgeois reformist mentality of the bourgeoisie did not run very deep. During its coalition with the petty bourgeois party of Social Democracy, the bourgeoisie "scorned even to consider a proposal signed by a hundred and eighty-nine members of the [Social Democracy] calling for a general amnesty of political prisoners." (*Ibid.*, p. 92)

With Bonaparte in control of the army, the bourgeois-petty bourgeois coalition in the Assembly was highly unstable. On the one side, the leaders of the Order Party received from the industrial bourgeoisie, their constituents, "public reproaches in which particularly their coalition with the [Social Democracy] was scourged as high treason to order." (*Ibid.*, p. 104) The petty bourgeois Social Democracy, on the other side of the coalition, found itself caught in the middle of the struggle between the Order Party and Bonaparte: "It found itself in the position of Buridan's ass. . . between two showers of blows with the problem of deciding which was the harder." (*Ibid.*, pp. 113-4)

Stage IV.--The bourgeoisie bow to the inevitable. They admit that in order to preserve their economic interests, their class "should be delivered from the danger of its own rule; . . . that in order to preserve its social power intact, its political power must be broken. . . ."12 In this stage the latent contradictions of bourgeois society become manifest: "Only theft can still save property; only perjury, religion; bastardy, the family; disorder, order!"13

(i) The consciousness of the bourgeoisie is a synthesis of bourgeois socialism and fatalism: the fatalistic reconciliation to political control by military Bonapartism. The bourgeois class accepts the loss of political power in order to retain economic power.* (ii) The petty bourgeois class starts to move away from the legalistic reformism of bourgeois socialism, through critical-utopian socialism and communism, toward revolutionary communism.**

12 Ibid., p. 67.

13 Ibid., p. 131.

*The parliamentary bickering within the Order Party and between Order and Bonaparte upset the bourgeois constituency, who demanded law and order. Bonaparte appealed to this demand in order to undercut the bourgeois parliamentary representatives. Hence, after Order had destroyed "with its own hands in the struggle against the other classes of society all the conditions for its own regime, the parliamentary regime, the extra-parliamentary mass of the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, by its servility towards the President, by its vilification of parliament. . . invited Bonaparte to suppress and annihilate its speaking and writing section, its politicians and its literati, its platform and its press, in order that it might then be able to pursue its private affairs with full confidence in the protection of a strong and unrestricted government." (Ibid., p. 106)

**A tendency toward revolutionary communism first became significant within the petty bourgeoisie in the second stage, after the fatalistic bourgeoisie robbed the petty bourgeoisie of its electoral victory. "And the discontented intermediate classes. . . began to prefer the promises of the red republic with its problematic terrors to the terrors of the [bourgeois] monarchy with its actual hopelessness." (Karl Marx, Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850, International Publishers, New York, 1964, p. 106)

Bonaparte's dictatorship rested upon a section of the petty bourgeoisie, "the most numerous class of French society. . . the small-holding. . . peasants." (Marx, 18th Brumaire, p. 123) However, this basis was highly precarious: "In the risings after the coup d'état, a part of the French peasants protested, arms in hand, against

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The model of the historical development of consciousness in the various classes of bourgeois society is by no means definitive. Variations have appeared in the real world, only a few of which are mentioned in the following pages. Moreover, the categories of consciousness in the model are entirely formal in the sense that they do not deal with all of the differences appearing within a single category, nor with the mixtures of categories which can occur. They are abbreviations of reality, and lose their value if understood otherwise. Given both of these limitations, the model can serve only as an initial point of orientation. It is not a "magic formula" to lipread history.

Before noting the basic characteristics of petty bourgeois consciousness as portrayed in the model, the general context in which this consciousness occurs should be examined. The model illustrates three important factors which should be considered in examining Marx's approach to petty bourgeois consciousness.

(1) The material situation of the classes in bourgeois society and their corresponding types of consciousness are not necessarily identical at a given moment. For example, although the economic condition of the petty bourgeoisie in France was steadily deteriorating, nevertheless, it temporarily returned to the bourgeois fold (Stage III). The general inclination which was manifested in the previous stage--the movement by the petty bourgeoisie away from the

their own vote of December 10, 1848, [in favor of Bonaparte for President]." (Ibid., p. 126) The major problem was that in allowing the bourgeoisie to retain economic power, capitalism increasingly hit the small holdings with mortgages. Also, in order to assist the bourgeoisie, Bonaparte's "strong and unrestricted government" needed increased revenues: "Besides the mortgage which capital imposes on it, the small holding is burdened by taxes." (Ibid., p. 128) The end result was that the "interests of the peasants, therefore, are no longer. . . in accord with, but in opposition to the interests of the bourgeoisie, to capital. Hence the peasants find their natural ally and leader in the urban proletariat, whose task is the overthrow of the bourgeois order." (Ibid., p. 128)

legalistic reformism of bourgeois socialism, through critical-utopian socialism and communism, toward revolutionary communism--contains significant deviations from the long-term, economic developments.*

(2) Marx's typologies of consciousness are themselves mental constructs influenced by material developments of their period. Proudhonist synthesizing, for example, was attributed to the petty bourgeoisie in the earlier typology of The Poverty of Philosophy. In The Communist Manifesto, however, Proudhonist synthesizing was placed with bourgeois humanitarianism-philanthropy and (tentatively) critical-utopian socialism and communism into the category of bourgeois socialism. The change by Marx reflects the long-term, economic tendency of bourgeois society to move toward two classes only--capital and labor--and of labor to adopt revolutionary communism. If in the long-run the middle class is defunct and the proletarians are revolutionary communists, then any existing Proudhonist synthesizing and critical-utopianism can only pertain to the bourgeoisie.

*Marx and Engels at one point argued that ideology and its material basis moved together: "What else does the history of ideas prove than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed?" (Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p. 109) Engels later explained, however, why such statements were oversimplifications: "Marx and I are ourselves partly to blame for the fact that younger writers sometimes lay more stress on the economic side than is due to it. We had to emphasize this main principle in opposition to our adversaries, who denied it, and we had not always the time, the place or the opportunity to allow the other elements in the interaction to come into their rights." (Frederick Engels, "Letter to Joseph Bloch (1890)," Marx and Engels, Selected Correspondence, p. 477)

The lack of an absolute correspondence between material reality and consciousness gives the latter a degree of independence. Engels wrote about "ideological conception," in which consciousness "reacts upon the economic basis and may, within certain limits, modify it." (Frederick Engels, "Letter to Conrad Schmidt (1890)," ibid., p. 483)

Engels' notes belie the rigid economic determinism which is so often attached to Marxism. Bertram Wolfe, for example, claims that economic reductionism "began as an 'abstract model' in the economic theorists of [France]," but Marx reduced "it to absurdity by making this abstract model into the key to the soul and actions of the whole man." (Bertram Wolfe, Marxism: One Hundred Years in the Life of a Doctrine, The Dial Press, New York, 1965, p. 16) Marx himself only held that "sooner or later" economic changes "lead" to the trans-

The long-term, economic development of bourgeois society into two classes only--the bourgeoisie and the proletariat--is far from complete at the present time. As was noted in the first chapter, in the most advanced capitalist nation, the United States, the middle class has been saved by the expansion in the tertiary or circulation sector of the economy. With regard to consciousness, the continued existence of the middle class renders some of Marx's and Engels' views of ideology highly anticipatory if rigidly applied to the present. For example, they claimed at one point that "the progress of history has swept from off the earth" most of the ideological positions cited in the typology of The Communist Manifesto.¹⁴ This contention clearly has the long-term, two class development in mind. But the illustrations taken from the contemporary United States, which were given in the summary of The Communist Manifesto typology, indicate that its ideological positions are still very much alive. The continued existence of these positions, then, can be explained by the continued survival of the middle class.

At the same time, however, the anticipatory nature of Marx's long-term, two class development thesis does not make this thesis invalid. The first chapter also showed various tendencies at work in the present United States economy which support Marx's thesis for the long-run. Difficulties arise only when the two class thesis is applied prematurely, when it is argued that the fall of the middle class is already a completed reality. The precipitatory application is to Marxism what critical-utopianism is to revolutionary communism: a form of idealism which only later becomes realism.

(3) The grouping together of humanitarianism-philanthropy and Proudhonist synthesizing in The Communist Manifesto points out another major feature of the general context in which middle class ideology appears. The unification of bourgeois and petty bourgeois categories

formation "of the whole immense superstructure"--that the economy "conditions" consciousness. Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, International Publishers, New York, 1970, pp. 20-1.

¹⁴Marx and Engels, "German Edition of 1872," p. 130.

of consciousness in the same category, bourgeois socialism, indicates that the two classes can share the same type of consciousness.

The model shows that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie can, indeed, have the same category of consciousness. For example, these classes were both characterized by humanitarianism-philanthropy in Stage I and Stage III of the period of bourgeois reaction. For Marx, however, such identities of consciousness are only temporary. In the long-run the fundamental material differences assert themselves, and any identity of consciousness among the various classes is rendered increasingly insubstantial.

Nevertheless, as has been emphasized, Marx did not neglect entirely existing deviations, such as a temporary identity of consciousness between two different classes, from the long-range tendencies. For example, the model shows that the bourgeoisie does not adhere "forever after" to the consciousness of unbridled fatalism. In Stage III of the reactionary period the bourgeoisie adopted a "fanaticism for reconciliation" to win back the petty bourgeoisie from its alliance with labor.^{15*} This is a case of the bourgeoisie picking up what is basically a petty bourgeois consciousness. There is a second case, that of the petty bourgeoisie adopting a bourgeois type of consciousness. This was exhibited in the French case when the petty bourgeoisie took on the fatalism of the bourgeoisie, and assisted in the crushing of the proletariat in June of 1848.

The model also shows, however, that these cases of shared consciousness were only temporary. The long-range tendency is for the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie to move further and further apart in ideology. This deepening cleavage consists of the drift of the

^{15*}Marx, 18th Brumaire, p. 90. For Engels the bourgeois-petty bourgeois coalition could be an alternative to Bonapartism for the bourgeoisie: "At a certain point [in capitalist development], which must not necessarily appear. . . on the same stage of development everywhere, [the bourgeoisie] begins to note that [the proletariat] has outgrown it. From then on, it loses the power for exclusive political dominance. It looks for allies with whom to share its authority, or to whom to cede all power, as circumstances may demand." (Frederick Engels, The Peasant War in Germany, International Publishers, New York, 1970, p. 16)

petty bourgeoisie toward revolutionary communism, a drift which has its foundation in the long-run, economic decline of the middle class into the proletariat.

If the temporary concurrences of consciousness between the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are assumed to be permanent, then the two classes are hopelessly confused. This is really idealism because "class" is defined primarily by ideological and not material standards. It is increasingly revealed as such as the long-term, economic decline of the middle class becomes more and more profound, bringing in its wake a growing divergence between bourgeois and petty bourgeois consciousness. Material change is why the premise of the present-as-permanent always enters the future by putting its foot in the door.

In addition to an identity of consciousness between the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, there is a second instance of concurrence of consciousness between two classes: the petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. In Stage II and Stage IV of the reactionary period in the model, these two classes shared to some extent the consciousness of revolutionary communism. These cases were examples of how the middle class can pick up a form of consciousness pertaining to the proletariat. The model also indicates that the proletariat can adopt a middle class consciousness, i.e., after it was beaten back in 1848, the proletariat slipped back from its revolutionary impetus into critical-utopian socialism and communism, a consciousness characterizing the petty bourgeoisie. In brief, then, just as the movement of the bourgeoisie into fatalism is not without fits and starts, neither is the progression of the proletariat into revolutionary communism entirely uniform: both can and do pick up middle class types of consciousness. And the middle class, for its part, does share with the other classes their particular types of consciousness.

As with the occasions of bourgeois-petty bourgeois concurrence in ideology, however, the occasions of petty bourgeois-proletarian identity of consciousness are only temporary and confined to the short-run. The middle class--as long as it is the middle class (in

a material sense)--can only adopt revolutionary communism provisionally. Just as the overstatement of the identity of consciousness between the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie confounds these two classes, so an exaggeration of the concurrence of consciousness between the petty bourgeoisie and proletariat confuses both of these classes. As in the first position, idealism--the belief that "class" is basically a phenomenon of consciousness--appears in the second.

The confounding of the middle class and the proletariat on an idealistic basis usually appears when the latter takes on a form of consciousness pertaining to the former. The same idealism, however, also springs up along the edge of attempts to deal with the problem of revolutionary consciousness in the middle class. Here idealism is more circuitous, since nobody contends that the middle class in advanced capitalist nations today is characterized by revolutionary communism. What occurs, however, is the argument that the middle class is economically proletarian even though its consciousness is still petty bourgeois. This viewpoint is then left with the problem of accounting for the existence of a consciousness when its economic basis has disappeared. The result is that only non-materialist explanations can be offered.

The near-sighted focus on short-term manifestations of middle class consciousness, then, is a realism which becomes idealism as the future unfolds. These temporary and immediate manifestations are most often part of the contentions that the consciousness of the middle class is the same as that of the bourgeoisie and, on the other hand, that the proletarian consciousness is middle class. An exclusive and rigid focus on the long-run development of middle class consciousness, however, is a form of idealism today which is becoming realism tomorrow. The long-term, economic decline of the middle class accounts for the first type of idealism; the fact that this decline is not at present an accomplished fact explains the second. The first type of idealism predominates among bourgeois scholars of the middle class; the second type, among many Marxist scholars. Neither takes both perspectives of Marx, both

economic realities of the middle class as alive but declining; neither, therefore, approaches the middle class and its consciousness dialectically, as Marx did.*

Without a dialectical approach the changes in the consciousness of the middle class cannot be explained on a scientific--material--basis. That is why neither the near-sighted nor far-sighted perspective alone is conducive to a scientific account of rebellion,

*For example, Marx attacked the equation of the petty bourgeoisie with the bourgeoisie, which was expressed in the argument that "in contrast to [the working class] all other classes form only one reactionary mass." He noted, "the proletariat is revolutionary in contrast to the bourgeoisie because, having itself grown up on the basis of large-scale industry, it strives to strip off from production the capitalist character that the bourgeoisie seeks to perpetuate. But the [Communist] Manifesto adds that the 'middle class. . . if by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat.'

From this point of view, therefore, it is again nonsense to say that [the middle class], together with the bourgeoisie, . . . 'form only one reactionary mass' in relation to the working class.

Did we proclaim to the artisans, small industrialists, etc., and peasants during the last elections: In contrast to us you, with the bourgeois. . . , form only one reactionary mass?" (Karl Marx, Critique of The Gotha Programme, International Publishers, New York, 1970, pp. 11-12) Marx clearly distinguishes the middle class from the bourgeoisie on the basis of the long-term, economic decline of the middle class into the proletariat. At the same time, however, he does not swing to the opposite extreme by claiming that the middle class is already transferred into the proletariat. He sees the middle class for what it continues to be today: an entity which still exists but entering into an "impending transfer" into the proletariat.

There are numerous passages in Marx's writings which do not clearly distinguish the middle class from the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. For example, "The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois." (Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p. 101) This type of statement which discounts the middle class as a presently-existing, separate class, appears only where Marx and Engels are attempting to clarify, often by exaggeration, the long-range division of bourgeois society into the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeois-bourgeois and petty bourgeois-proletariat distinctions are subordinated in this overriding effort. Thus, in the example just cited, they go on to say: "The modern laborer. . . becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident that the bourgeoisie. . . is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery. . . ." (Ibid., p. 101)

the transitional form of consciousness between reconciliation and revolution, and which appears during the decline of the middle class into the proletariat. And whether the middle class is languidly accepted as a permanent phenomenon or is impatiently dismissed as having already disappeared into the proletariat, the problem is slowly becoming compounded in each instance: the more the economic decline of the middle class becomes a clear-cut reality, the more rebellious consciousness manifests itself, the less either of the one-sided positions are able to explain it.*

Time is a partisan of the second view of the middle class as defunct. Nevertheless, "after the revolution" those Marxists who have precipitatively applied this contention to the present will be faced with elements of an ideology whose origin and development they cannot scientifically explain. If the current trend does not abate, rebellious consciousness will continue to be a slipped disk in Marxist theory and practice.

In summary, the model of the historical development of class consciousness in bourgeois society illuminated the following general areas of the overall context: first, consciousness and economics, the ideological superstructure and the material structure, are by no means uniform for a given moment. Consistency occurs primarily in the form of a long-term, means-averages tendency. Second, the lack of an immediate uniformity between consciousness and material exist-

*Representatives of these positions are the scholars Lewis Corey and Arthur Holcombe. Corey, a Marxist, hastily claims that the United States middle class employees are presently proletarians--"a 'new' proletariat." "There is still an ideological barrier [to socialism and the workers], but the economic barrier exists no longer." Thus, a middle class ideology remains, even though its economic basis has disappeared. Undoubtedly, an ideology can outlive its material basis, since the two do not always correspond. However, once the latter is assumed away--as Corey does--only non-material explanations of the persisting ideology can be advanced: this is idealism. (Lewis Corey, The Crisis of the Middle Class, Covici Friede, New York, 1935, pp. 248, 254, 259, 276)

Arthur Holcombe argued that the United States middle class still retained its economic basis for existence, i.e., small farm and business, better-paid employees, and skilled independent workers. Holcombe assumes that the middle class is permanent, that because it has

ence is expressed in the sharing of one form of class consciousness by two different classes. The middle class sometimes is characterized by a bourgeois ideology, sometimes by a proletarian consciousness. The bourgeois and proletarian classes, for their part, can and do adopt middle class forms of consciousness. These concurrences of consciousness between different classes, however, are basically temporary and limited to the short-run. Over the long-run the economic development of capitalism sharpens the economic distinctions of the classes, provoking an ever widening drift in their categories of consciousness. And thirdly, neither the short-run configurations of class consciousness in bourgeois development nor the long-run tendency of these configurations toward a definite pattern can exclusively explain middle class consciousness. Each of these perspectives, if taken by itself, assumes that the material decline of the middle class is an either-or proposition: either this class will last forever or it is already extinct. Marx's assumption, on the contrary, that the middle class was alive but declining is more in tune with material reality today; therefore, his dialectical employment of both perspectives continues to be sound in the present. In fact, Marx's method is the only one which allows for an analysis of the middle class consciousness of rebellion, an ideology which appears during the decline of the middle class.

The movement of categories of consciousness in the middle class in the course of the development of bourgeois society can be summarized as follows:

Bourgeois revolution.--Petty bourgeois socialism, the desire to

not yet declined it will never decline. His basic idealism becomes explicit in his contention that the United States middle class is "essentially a subjective phenomenon." Also, Holcombe attempts to construct a "sound political philosophy" which denies the division of bourgeois society into two classes, capital and labor. (Arthur Norman Holcombe, The Middle Classes in American Politics, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940, pp. 47, 50, 202-9)

Unfortunately for both sides, the existing material reality of the middle class extends beyond the opposing, narrow extremes the authors personify: the middle class is alive but not well. This is why in the course of their arguments a very real problem has been transformed into an "issue."

contain the emerging capitalist economy within the feudal system of guilds and patriarchal work relationships, and German or "true" socialism where the bourgeois revolution is primarily a state of mind.

Bourgeois reaction.--Stage I: humanitarianism-philanthropy, the belief that the bourgeois-proletarian contradictions can be solved within the bourgeois system; critical-utopian socialism and communism, the faith in idealistic and pacifistic formulas; and Proudhonist synthesizing, the attempt to combine the above categories. Incidents of bourgeois fatalism, the open disregard for the proletariat, are also present. Stage II: the first three categories of the prior stage continue to predominate, but the worsening of the petty bourgeoisie's material conditions creates a shift away from bourgeois fatalism and the initial appearance of revolutionary communism. Stage III: the bourgeoisie, in an effort to save itself from a growing isolation, compromises with the middle class. This bourgeois-petty bourgeois coalition, however, is inherently less stable than the former one in Stage I because of the weakening of the petty bourgeoisie's economic basis. The acceptance by the petty bourgeoisie of the bourgeois offer of alliance constitutes an irregularity in the general movement of the petty bourgeoisie away from bourgeois fatalism, through bourgeois socialism (humanitarianism-philanthropy and Proudhonist synthesizing) and critical-utopianism, and into revolutionary communism. Stage IV: the general observation of Engels indicates two major patterns. First, the bourgeoisie submit themselves to a military Bonaparte so as to retain economic power. Here the bourgeois-petty bourgeois coalition becomes covert in that a Bonaparte has a social basis in small property. And second, the bourgeois class resigns itself to the overt coalition with the petty bourgeoisie. In both cases, however, the steady undermining of the economic basis of the petty bourgeoisie continues. Consequently, the long-term, general movement of the middle class away from bourgeois fatalism and socialism, through critical-utopianism, and into revolutionary communism continues to be the general rule. The major difference between the two patterns is that military Bonapartism, by permitting the flowering of the bourgeoisie in the economic sphere,

speeds up the process of middle class decline. Consequently, Bonapartism also hastens the general, ideological movement by the middle class into revolutionary communism.

The discussion of the general context in which middle class consciousness appears can serve to point out three modifications in the overall tendency of this consciousness to move out of the forms of consciousness pertaining to the bourgeoisie and into those which characterize the proletariat. First, consciousness in general does not necessarily reflect the immediate material conditions in the short-run. This means that in the short-run the general, ideological movement of the middle class will be subject to reverses and advances. Over the long-run, however, these irregularities will diminish as the economic decline becomes more profound. Second, the general movement away from bourgeois ideology toward proletarian consciousness is conditioned by the economic decline of the middle class. The economic decline itself is not uniform; therefore, the long-term, ideological movement will contain irregularities on this account. As in the above case, irregularities of an economic origin also tend to diminish with time because the advancement of capitalism slowly exhausts the economic bases for retrieving the middle class from collapse. This steady strangulation appears in highly-developed capitalism in the form of a centralization of capital and the devaluation of functions performed by middle class employees in the tertiary sector. And thirdly, the ideological development of the middle class toward revolutionary communism is influenced by the economic and ideological development of the other two classes. The adoption of fatalism by the bourgeoisie, for example, reinforces the ideological advance of the middle class toward revolutionary communism: it "seconds" the motion. Conversely, if the bourgeoisie fall back on bourgeois socialism the ideological movement of the middle class is delayed. Again, however, the long-range, economic development of capitalism leads to the economic and ideological polarization of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. As a result, the adverse affects on the ideological progression of the middle class which are caused by the other two classes are mostly temporary and limited

to the short-run of bourgeois development.

A fourth factor which can moderate the long-range, ideological movement of the middle class is the particular blends of historical and economic elements which arise. Paul Baran noted, for example, that the exploited nations of today enter the period of bourgeois reaction without ever having experienced the period of bourgeois revolution. The introduction of monopolistic industries into these nations

on one hand extends the merchant phase of capitalism by obstructing the transition of capital and men from the sphere of circulation to the sphere of industrial production. On the other hand, providing neither a market for agricultural produce nor outlets for agricultural surplus labor and not supplying agriculture with cheap manufactured consumer goods and implements, it forces agriculture back towards self-sufficiency, perpetuates the idleness of the structurally unemployed, and fosters further mushrooming of petty traders, cottage industries, and the like.

Thus in most underdeveloped countries capitalism had a peculiarly twisted career. Having lived through all the pains and frustrations of childhood, it never experienced the vigor and exuberance of youth, and began displaying at an early age all the grievous features of senility and decadence. To the dead weight of stagnation characteristic of pre-industrial society was added the entire restrictive impact of monopoly capitalism.¹⁶

In historical patterns such as that just outlined, bourgeois development is doubled up and folded over itself. Clearly, in such cases the pattern of the ideological movement of the middle class would contain important variations from that which predominates in the middle classes of more developed nations.

Another example of how the mixture of economic and historical

¹⁶Paul A. Baran, The Political Economy of Growth, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1968, pp. 176-77.

factors can affect the ideological movement of the middle class toward revolutionary communism is the knot of "true" socialism in the consciousness of the United States middle class. "True" socialism is partly due to the fact that for the majority of this class--the tertiary sector employees--their economic relations are already socialized. But this socialization exists within a system of capitalism. While socialization is part of proletarianization, under capitalism the two can be separate in time. A case of socialization apart from proletarianization is the joint stock company: here a private enterprise has become socialized but not yet proletarianized in ownership. "This is the abolition of the capitalist mode of production within the capitalist mode of production itself, and. . . represents a mere phase of transition to a new form of production."¹⁷

The middle class employee is in the twilight area between socialization and proletarianization. He is where the pastel hues of tomorrow are cast over the slag of yesterday. In a sense, because their functions would not even exist without a socialization of the economy, whatever the middle class employees do, think, or say which is not socialistic can only be an ideal prolongation of unsocialized economic relationships. This is a type of "true" socialism arising from economic elements--a socialism based in concrete socialization, but which is not revolutionary socialism due to the lack of proletarianization.

The contemporary realities of history tend to reinforce "true" socialism in the United States middle class. Just when the middle class employees find themselves between the sword of socialization and the wall of the proletariat, they find their final outcome--the end toward which they are moving--already given in the various forms of socialism elsewhere in the world, the socialist world. They do not like what they see; for what is visible is their own proletarianization represented in another nation.

¹⁷Karl Marx, Capital, International Publishers, New York, 1970, Volume III, p. 438.

The four qualifying factors just cited cannot be treated at length here. The central task of this study is to show what they qualify, the historical movement of middle class consciousness. The qualifying factors were introduced as warning lights. Without them, there is a formidable tendency to go to sleep in an oven.

The model of the historical development of class consciousness depicted a spinning and weaving flow of categories of consciousness among the three classes. Nevertheless, the model also showed that in the long-run development of capitalism the class formations become more crystalized. Attributes of bourgeois society which hitherto were latent become manifest. As the material bases of the three classes assume clearer outlines, their respective categories of consciousness are more affixed and stable. Therefore, the ideological categories characteristic of the middle class take on an identifiable form as the reactionary period comes to a close.

In his analysis of the historical reality of the reactionary period in France, Marx discussed a key element of middle class consciousness per se:

The peculiar character of the Social-Democracy [the petty bourgeois-dominated coalition with the workers] is epitomized in the fact that democratic-republican institutions are demanded as a means, not of doing away with two extremes, capital and wage labour, but of weakening their antagonism and transforming it into harmony. However different the means proposed for the attainment of this end may be, however much it may be trimmed with more or less revolutionary notions, the content remains the same. This content is the transformation of society in a democratic way, but a transformation within the bounds of the petty bourgeoisie.¹⁸

Marx's observation is useful for determining which categories

¹⁸Marx, 18th Brumaire, p. 50. Marx discussed the petty bourgeois predominance in the Social Democracy in ibid., p. 71.

of consciousness are intrinsically middle class. If the goal of reconciling the bourgeoisie and the proletariat is the basic criterion of middle class consciousness, then a review of the summary of the ideological categories indicates that the following are essentially middle class forms of consciousness: bourgeois socialism, i.e., humanitarianism-philanthropy and Proudhonist synthesizing, and critical-utopian socialism and communism. This same conclusion was presented in the model, but was stated negatively (in Stage IV the bourgeoisie veer off toward fatalism and the proletariat toward revolutionary communism).^{*} In Stage IV of the period of reaction, then, the categories of consciousness which unfold as forms of middle class ideology are humanitarianism-philanthropy, Proudhonist synthesizing, petty bourgeois socialism, "true" socialism, and critical-utopian socialism and communism.^{**} This conglomeration of

^{*}Another long-term possibility has been mentioned: as the middle class declines into the proletariat and adopts revolutionary communism, the bourgeois class is compelled to move away from fatalism. It inherits the bourgeois socialist mentality left behind by the middle class. This corresponds to the long-term view of Marx, and is reflected in his labeling of humanitarianism-philanthropy and Proudhonist synthesizing as "bourgeois" socialism. Engels may have been anticipating this long-term development in his statement, "Only among the 'radical' bourgeoisie are there still Proudhonists." (Frederick Engels, "Introduction (1891)," in Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin, Civil War in France: The Paris Commune, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 19) Eventually, the ideology of capital-labor reconciliation may turn out to be left to the bourgeoisie by the departing middle class in its last will and testament. This transformation would constitute Stage V of the reactionary period. All that can be said at the present time, however, is that nowhere in the history of capitalism to date has the middle class economically declined to such an extent that the ideology of reconciliation pertains only to the bourgeoisie.

^{**}The model cited "true" socialism and petty bourgeois socialism only for the period of bourgeois revolution. This does not mean that for Marx these two categories cease to exist in the reactionary period; rather, they are transformed into varieties of critical-utopian socialism and communism. Marx discussed the development of petty bourgeois socialism--and clearly indicated the place of "true" socialism--as follows: "Capital hounds [the petty bourgeoisie] chiefly as its creditors, so [the middle class] demands credit institutions; capital crushes it by competition, so it demands associations supported by the state; capital overwhelms it by concentration, so it

bourgeois socialist and critical-utopian socialist and communist categories, then, comprises the portfolio of middle class ideologies in the final stage of the reactionary period.*

In general, the varieties of bourgeois socialism (humanitarianism-philanthropy and Proudhonist synthesizing) can be viewed as forms of middle class reconciliation; the varieties of critical-utopianism ("true" socialism, petty bourgeois socialism, and critical-utopian socialism and communism proper), as forms of middle class rebellion. The categories of consciousness are formal. Therefore, the basis for dividing them into reconciliation and rebellion is also formal: bourgeois socialism declares its support of capitalism, whereas critical-utopianism claims to be against capitalism. The arbitrary quality of this basis for division is exemplified by German or "true" socialism. This ideology was identified above as

demands progressive taxes, limitations on inheritance, taking over of large works by the state, and other measures that forcibly stem the growth of capital. Since it dreams of the peaceful achievement of its socialism--allowing, perhaps, for a [proletarian revolution] lasting a brief day--naturally the coming historical process appears to it as the application of systems. . . . Thus they become the eclectics or adepts of the existing socialist systems, of doctrinaire socialism While this utopia, doctrinaire socialism, . . . in fantasy does away with the revolutionary struggle of the classes and its necessities by small conjuring tricks or great sentimentality; while this doctrinaire socialism, which at bottom only idealizes the present society, takes a picture of it without shadows and wants to achieve its ideal against the reality of society; while this socialism passes from the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie. . . --the proletariat rallies more and more round revolutionary socialism, round communism" (Marx, Class Struggles, pp. 125-6)

*Marx commented on this profusion of types of ideology in the middle class of France: "Revolt against bourgeois dictatorship, need of a change in society, adherence to democratic-republican institutions as the decisive revolutionary power--these were the common characteristics of the so-called party of Social-Democracy. . . . This party of anarchy, as its opponents christened it, is no less a coalition of different interests than the party of order. From the smallest reform of the old social disorder to the overthrow of the old social order, from bourgeois liberalism to revolutionary terrorism, as wide apart as this lie the extremes that form the starting and final point of the party of "anarchy." (Ibid., p. 124)

a type of rebellion. Yet German socialism was also reconciliatory in its attempt to make socialist ideas compatible with feudalism. This problem brings to the surface a fundamental factor which will be discussed in the following chapters: middle class rebellion and reconciliation cannot be rigidly distinguished. Each is a phase of the other--at least in the initial period of middle class decline, which is the subject of this work.

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The two typologies are not the only formulation by Marx of the general movement of consciousness in bourgeois society. In a letter to Engels, Marx made the following generalization:

Human history is like palaeontology. Owing to a certain judicial blindness even the best intelligences absolutely fail to see the things which lie in front of their noses. Later, when the moment has arrived, we are surprised to find traces everywhere of what we failed to see. The first reaction against the French Revolution and the period of Enlightenment bound up with it was naturally to see everything as medieval and romantic. . . . The second reaction is to look beyond the Middle Ages into the primitive age of each nation, and that corresponds to the socialist tendency, although. . . learned men have no idea that the two have any connection. They are therefore surprised to find what is newest in what is oldest. . . .¹⁹

The "two reactions" to bourgeois society are broader statements by Marx of the types of middle class rebellion cited in the typologies. The first reaction of an orientation to the Middle Ages corresponds to petty bourgeois socialism which has the feudal gild as its point of reference. The second reaction, the perspective

¹⁹Karl Marx, "Marx to Engels, March 25, 1868," in Karl Marx, Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations, International Publishers, New York, 1969, pp. 140-1.

which passes beyond feudalism into primitivism, is associated with critical-utopian socialism and communism. Insofar as German or "true" socialism was a "silly echo" of critical-utopianism,²⁰ it is related to the reaction toward primitivism; to the extent that "true" socialists sought to bring "the new French ideas [of critical-utopian socialism and communism] into harmony with their. . . own philosophic point of view,"²¹ it is a form of the reaction toward feudalism.

The typological categories of class consciousness and the "two reactions" supplement one another. The view of middle class rebellion as consisting of reactions toward feudalism and primitivism is wider and more dynamic than the vision offered by the typologies. The categories of consciousness, for their part, are useful for specifying the general political and social contents of the two reactions. The feudal and primitive reactions are the storm clouds; the categories, their thunder.

The lightning is the subject of the following chapters.

²⁰Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p. 118.

²¹Ibid., p. 116.

CHAPTER III
THE CONSCIENCE OF AN UNCONSCIOUS CLASS

From head to foot M. Proudhon is the philosopher and economist of the petty bourgeoisie. . .--a genuine merit, because the petty bourgeoisie will form an integral part of all the impending social revolutions.¹

In the previous chapter the middle class consciousness of reconciliation was identified as bourgeois socialism; the consciousness of rebellion, as critical-utopian socialism and communism. The typological categories of consciousness provided by Marx are valuable as hints. Where communal retreats are proposed or attempted, for example, there is reason to suspect middle class rebellion of the critical-utopian variety. The glorification of the world of small arts and crafts production suggests middle class rebellion of the petty bourgeois socialist type. The reactions toward primitivism and feudalism also are useful as a set of keys, communes representing primitivism and crafts feudalism in the example just cited.

Both the categories and the two reactions are not ideal constructs completely separated from the observable world. Neither, however, is that world in itself. The categories and two reactions, then, are not logs in a petrified forest. They are broad generalizations handcuffed to reality.

The categories and reactions do not adequately explain middle class rebellion. First, rebellion is not limited to politics--the backbone of the categories. Neither is rebellion confined to a

¹Karl Marx, "Marx to P.V. Annenkov, December 28, 1846," in Karl Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 193.

sentimental glance backward to feudalism and primitivism. And secondly, the typological approach was concerned with the components of consciousness in order to construct formal categories: it did not go into these components themselves.

Just as the elements of a class consciousness can be used to make formal categories, the categories can be employed in turn to illuminate the elements. In the latter context, the categories and reactions are tell-tale ripples of deeper currents.

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The typological categories of ideology and the two reactions placed middle class rebellion within the general development of bourgeois society. They provide a historical frame of reference and a point of departure.

The third important area in Marx's writings which is concerned with middle class rebellion consists of his case studies of historical contemporaries. Like the typologies and two reactions, Marx's analyses of middle class individuals and groups have received very little attention. They have remained a smokeless flame.

The previous chapter showed how middle class rebellion cannot be discussed apart from the forms of consciousness characterizing the other classes. The model of the historical development of class consciousness indicated how rebellion, conceived in terms of formal categories, acts and is acted upon by the consciousness of the bourgeoisie and proletariat. The remaining portion of this study is concerned with the consciousness of rebellion in terms of its constituent elements. Therefore, to be truly thorough, Marx's analyses of the components of bourgeois and proletarian consciousness would also have to be included.

An adequate treatment of Marx's discussions of the forms of consciousness of the other classes would involve two more investigations--at least the size of this one in each case. Such an endeavor is clearly beyond the scope of this project. Therefore, in cases where interaction of class ideologies is pertinent to the vital ele-

ments of rebellious consciousness, the portraits of the other two classes given in the preceding chapter must suffice for the time being.

Marx's analysis of middle class consciousness is a prerequisite to a consideration of his work on bourgeois and proletarian consciousness. The hardening of the class outlines of capital and labor cannot occur without the decline of the middle class. For the middle class is a "transition class, in which the interests of two classes are simultaneously mutually blunted. . . ."2 The material formation into classes of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the decline of the middle class, then, are parts of the same process. Along with the hardening of the economic bases of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the ideologies of these two classes become more sharply defined. That the proletariat, for example, may be characterized as holding a middle class consciousness of reconciliation in many advanced capitalist nations merely reflects the material fact that the middle class has not declined significantly; for the economic and social basis of the ideology of reconciliation is the middle class. Until this class undergoes a fundamental crisis, the consciousness of revolutionary communism will not be free of reconciliation and rebellion in the proletariat.

In addition to the interaction between the forms of consciousness of the three classes, the model also brought out another crucial factor. Any ideology cannot be adequately explained apart from its historical development. The categories of middle class rebellion arose in the period of bourgeois revolution. Petty bourgeois and "true" socialism--the reaction oriented toward feudalism--began in the middle class. Critical-utopian socialism and communism at first represented the proletariat, but later was picked up by the middle class.

Although the categories of rebellion did not have their historical

²Karl Marx, The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 54.

origin in reconciliation or bourgeois socialism, nevertheless, as the middle class declines, rebellion functions as the transitional phase between reconciliation and revolution. It is this function which is of interest here, not the initial appearance in the world of the varieties of rebellion.

If a type of consciousness cannot be understood apart from its historical development, it follows that rebellion cannot be comprehended apart from reconciliation. An investigation of the vital elements of the ideology of rebellion requires a prior examination of the dynamic components of the consciousness of reconciliation. These dynamic components of reconciliation are the theme of this chapter.

Marx considered the epitomy of middle class reconciliation to be Proudhonist synthesizing. This category of consciousness, it will be recalled, attempted to unite the categories of bourgeois economism and critical-utopian socialism and communism.* Proudhonist synthesizing desired the "good side" of each without the "bad side" of both. Marx's discussion of the dynamic elements of middle class reconciliation, then, is found in his analysis of Proudhon.

The dynamic elements or components of a type of consciousness are simply the inner method of organizing perceptions and reflections. The word "ideology" is a literal expression of this method: the logic of ideas. Dynamic elements, in brief, are the process of consciousness, the internal gnawbone of ideology.

In his discussion of Proudhon, Marx identified the vital components of the consciousness of reconciliation as the following:

The cult of contradiction. --Marx noted of Proudhon, "A petty bourgeois of this type glorifies contradiction because contradiction is the basis of his existence. He is himself nothing but social contradiction in action."³

*Reconciliation expands with time to include elements from all the other categories of consciousness. Proudhon, for example, later moved toward bourgeois fatalism in his efforts to make Bonaparte "palatable to the French workers. . . ." (Karl Marx, "Marx to J.B. Schweitzer, January 24, 1865," in Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, p. 201)

³"Marx to Annenkov," p. 193.

A focus on contradictions is not reconciliatory in and of itself. Marx is an example of how a concern for contradictions can be used in a revolutionary way. However, when the search for contradictions is carried beyond a method for critical analysis and turned into an end in itself--when it becomes a cult--then a focus on contradictions becomes a vital element of the consciousness of reconciliation.

For Marx the pursuit of contradictions for their own sake was not only associated with reconciliation. Individualism, eclecticism, and opportunism were parts of the same syndrome. He noted of the middle class reconciler engrossed in contradictions:

If, like Proudhon, he is. . . a gifted man, he will soon learn to play with his own contradictions and develop them according to circumstances into striking, ostentatious, now scandalous or now brilliant paradoxes. Charlatanism in science and accommodation in politics are inseparable from such a point of view. There only remains one governing motive, the vanity of the subject, and the only question . . . is the success of the moment, the attention of the day. Thus the simple moral sense, which always kept a Rousseau, for instance, far from even the semblance of compromise with the powers that be, is necessarily extinguished.⁴

The cult of contradiction achieves its formal expression in philosophical dualism, or the assumption of "a dualism between life and ideas, between soul and body, a dualism which recurs in many forms."⁵

The dynamic element of the cult of contradiction arises from the fact that the petty bourgeoisie is "continually tossed back and forth between capital and labor, political economy and communism."⁶ It is this feature of social existence which explains why the middle class is a personified "however," the "but" incarnate.

⁴"Marx to Schweitzer," p. 202.

⁵"Marx to Annenkov," p. 192.

⁶Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, p. 126.

The cult of synthesis.--This is the second vital element in the middle class consciousness of reconciliation. As in the search for contradictions, an approach which focuses on synthesis is not reconciliatory in itself. Again, Marx is an example of how a technique which employs synthesis can be revolutionary.

In the hands of the middle class, however, the search for synthesis is transformed into its own end. When it is a cult, the approach of synthesizing becomes reconciliatory because it is only the logical extension of the cult of contradictions: the contradiction of contradictions. Here a means toward extremes is turned into an extreme itself, a method of critical analysis is changed into salt. As Marx noted, "Proudhon had a natural inclination for dialectics. But as he never grasped really scientific dialectics he never got further than sophistry. In fact this hung together with his petty-bourgeois point of view."⁷

Marx discussed the reconciler's cult of synthesis as follows:

In an advanced society the petty bourgeois is necessarily from his very position a socialist on one side and an economist on the other, that is to say, he is dazzled by the magnificence of the big bourgeoisie and has sympathy for the sufferings of the people. . . . Deep down in his heart he flatters himself that he is impartial and has found the right equilibrium, which claims to be something different from mediocrity.⁸

The cult of synthesis presupposes an acceptance of bourgeois society, i.e., that the reconciler "does not rise above the bourgeois horizon. As he is operating with bourgeois ideas, the eternal truth of which he presupposes, he seeks a synthesis, an equilibrium of these ideas. . . ."⁹ The cult of synthesis means that the reconciler does not want anything he does not already have in fact (although, perhaps,

⁷"Marx to Schweitzer," p. 202.

⁸"Marx to Annenkov," p. 193.

⁹Ibid., p. 190..

lacking in his theory), and does not aspire to something which is impossible within the bourgeois world.

The cult of contradiction has its social origin in the hurling of the middle class back and forth between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The cult of synthesis is founded in the condition of the middle class as an intermediate class. In this capacity the middle strata, even in advanced capitalism, "obliterate lines of [class] demarcation everywhere. . . ."10 The cult of contradiction is rooted in the difference between the middle class and either the bourgeoisie or proletariat. The cult of synthesis, on the other hand, bases itself in what is common to the middle class and both of the other classes.

The similarities between the middle class man and the bourgeois and proletarian, however, are enough to create a dream but not its fulfillment. "He wants to be the synthesis--he is a composite error."11 This is so because any similarity between the middle class and the bourgeoisie and proletariat is purely coincidental. It is mistletoe hanging in an empty house.

Idealism.--Reconciliation in toto assumes that bourgeois society is acceptable, as was noted above. This acceptance in turn rests on two idealistic presuppositions: first, the belief that the ideas and realities of bourgeois society are eternal. The "bourgeois man" is held up as the "only possible basis of every society. . . ."12 And secondly, there is the premise that the ideas of bourgeois society are eternally valid and do not basically conflict with the realities of capitalism. Both of these idealistic presuppositions come out of the ideology of bourgeois economism, and, therefore, are shared by the middle class reconcilers and the bourgeoisie. For example, these two groups "want competition without the lethal effects of competition. They all want the impossible, namely, the conditions of bourgeois existence without the necessary consequences of those conditions."13

10Karl Marx, Capital, International Publishers, New York, 1970, Volume III, p. 885.

11Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, p. 126.

12"Marx to Annenkov," p. 190.

13Ibid., p. 190.

The third dynamic component of the consciousness of reconciliation is idealism. The tendency here is to slip "the surly bounds of earth," and enter a transcendental realm. Proudhon, for example, "wants to soar as the man of science above the bourgeois and the proletarians. . . ."14 Science as transcendence, however, is idealism--the contradiction of science:

M. Proudhon places eternal ideas, the categories of pure reason, on the one side and human beings and their practical life, which according to him is the application of these categories, on the other. . . . You can see now that this antagonism is nothing but the incapacity of M. Proudhon to understand the profane origin and the profane history of the categories which he deifies.15

The cult of contradiction reflects the middle class condition of being tossed between capital and labor. The cult of synthesis expresses the slender morsels which the middle class has in common with both of these classes. Idealism, for its part, reflects the separation of the middle class from the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Marx traced Proudhon's quest for the eternal back to the "profane" origin of the particular mode of production which Proudhon represented:

To sum up, M. Proudhon has not gone further than the petty-bourgeois ideal. And to realize this ideal, he can think of nothing better than to take us back to the journeyman or, at most, to the master craftsman of the Middle Ages. It is enough, he says somewhere in his book, to have created a masterpiece once in one's life, to have felt oneself just once to be a man. Is not this, in form as in content, the masterpiece demanded by the trade guild of the Middle Ages?16

14Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, p. 126.

15"Marx to Annenkov," p. 192.

16Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, p. 144.

In short, Proudhon's idealism can be explained materially by the status of the guild mode of production within bourgeois society. In that society the guild in fact stands apart from the "existing world"--a world based on a capitalist economy, not a feudal one.

The dynamic element of idealism has three interrelated facets. First, doctrinairism is inescapable. To Proudhon

the historical movement which is turning the present-day world upside down reduces itself to the problem of discovering the correct equilibrium, the synthesis, of two bourgeois ideas [i.e., a desire to have a bourgeois existence but without its internal destructive features]. And so the clever fellow is able by his cunning to discover the hidden thought of God, the unity of two isolated thoughts--which are only isolated because M. Proudhon has isolated them from practical life, from present-day production, that is, from the union of realities which they express.¹⁷

The problem for Proudhon is that the bourgeois ideas which he views as eternal "are no more eternal than the relations they express. They are historical and transitory products."¹⁸ The effort to establish bourgeois ideas as eternal in the face of changing relations means that the reconciler is "necessarily doctrinaire."¹⁹ Dogmatism is the paddle wheel by which idealism moves against the current.

The second facet of the vital element of idealism is the search for formulas. This facet is most clearly expressed in the tenet that ideas--not men--make history; therefore, solutions are contained in the former rather than the latter:

The solution of present problems does not lie for [Proudhon] in public action but in the dialectical rotations of his own mind. Since to him the categories [of thought] are the motive force, it is not necessary to change practical life in order to

¹⁷"Marx to Annenkov," p. 190.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 190.

change the categories. Quite the contrary. One must change the categories and the consequence will be a change in the existing society.²⁰

This facet of idealism consists of a confusion between symbols and the things symbols represent. The symbols are mistaken for the things themselves. The battle waged by the doctrinaire aspect, therefore, is confined for the most part to the arena of rhetoric: "If Peter the Great defeated Russian barbarism by barbarity, Proudhon did his best to defeat French phrase-mongering by phrases."²¹ An obsession with symbols is why the reconciler strives to sidesaddle the everyday world with idealistic formulas.

The faith in the powers of symbols, that representations are in themselves that which is being re-presented, and doctrinairism, the belief that these symbolic representations are eternal absolutes, are idealism as consummated in the tenet: only the ideal is real. The third facet of reconciliatory idealism is this tenet stood on its head: the real is only ideal. In the first two facets reconciliation turns the relationship between material reality and ideas upside down. The third facet is comprised of a distortion of sense-experience reality per se.

Marx commented on how idealism completed its full circle in Proudhon:

In place of the great historical movement arising from the conflict between the productive forces already acquired by men and their social relations, which no longer correspond to these productive forces; in place of the terrible wars which are being prepared between the different classes within each nation and between different nations; in place of the practical and violent action of the masses by which alone these conflicts can be resolved-- in place of this vast, prolonged and compli-

²⁰Ibid., p. 191.

²¹"Marx to Schweitzer," p. 201.

cated movement, Monsieur Proudhon supplies the whimsical motion of his own head. So it is the men of learning that make history, the men who know how to purloin God's secret thoughts. The common people have only to apply their revelations.²²

The third facet of idealism, then, is the consequence of doctrinairism and an obsession with symbols. The mistakes committed in the attempt to realize the ideal are themselves made unreal in this third aspect. Marx noted in his work on the events in France how the latter facet serves as an oxygen tent for resuscitating eternal ideas from a collapse under concrete reality:

The [petty bourgeois] democrats concede that a privileged class [i.e., the big bourgeoisie] confronts them, but they, along with all the rest of the nation, form the people. What they represent is the people's rights; what interests them is the people's interests. Accordingly, when a struggle is impending, they do not need to examine the interests and positions of the different classes. They do not need to weigh their own resources too critically. They have merely to give the signal and the people, with all its inexhaustible resources, will fall upon the oppressors. Now, if in the performance their interests prove to be uninteresting and their potency impotence, then either the fault lies with pernicious sophists, who split the indivisible people into different hostile camps, or the army was too brutalized and blinded to comprehend that the pure aims of democracy are the best thing for it itself, or the whole thing has been wrecked by a detail in its execution, or else an unforeseen accident has this time spoilt the game. In any case, the democrat comes out of the most disgraceful defeat just as immaculate as he was innocent when he went into it, with the newly-won conviction that he is bound to win, not that he himself and his party have to give up the old standpoint, but, on the contrary, that conditions have to ripen to suit him.²³

²²"Marx to Annenkov," pp. 190-1.

²³Marx, 18th Brumaire, pp. 54-5.

In the end, the supposition of middle class reconciliation that the real is only an ideal holds ideas to be the rule. Material reality is viewed as a temporary exception which must sooner or later come into line. The idealist may not consider the constant intrusions by concrete existence upon the omnipotent idea as "notions" themselves--but, according to him, they may be treated as such.

Idealism in this under-the-counter form absolves itself of its own sins. It is as indispensable to doctrinairism and "formulaism"* as they are to it. There are other advantages to the tenet that reality is really only an idea. The outlook not only makes the reconciler indefatigable. It also allows him to be continually surprised.

Doctrinairism, formulaism, an obsession with symbols, a compulsion to realize the ideal and to idealize reality--these facets of idealism acquire their climactic social expression from the fact that the petty bourgeois "imagines himself elevated above class antagonism generally."²⁴ Philosophically, they are Descartes' cogito rephrased in middle class terms: "I say it--therefore I am."

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The cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism are not separate and distinct. Each is an intrinsic part of the other. The cult of contradiction, for example, includes the cult of synthesis as a logical extension--the contradiction of contradiction. The cult of contradiction also contains idealism as an ideal-reality duality. The cult of synthesis embraces idealism in an acceptance of bourgeois ideas and realities as eternal. Both of these statements can be turned around to have idealism as the subject: if the cult of contradiction contains idealism as an ideal-

*My own word meaning: to make an ism out of formulas.

²⁴Ibid., p. 54.

reality dualism, it might just as well be said that idealism consists of a cult of contradiction in the form of a ideal-reality dualism.

The fact that the cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism all subsume each other constitutes the fundamental characteristic of the consciousness of reconciliation. Since the three dynamic components of this consciousness are repetitions of one another, the movement of reconciliation as a whole can be identified as a tautology. A tautological process does not create anything new. It only reiterates and elaborates the old. Marx characterized a tautology as a movement which sends "us from Pontius to Pilate. . . ."25

Any system is to some extent self-contained. One of the results found in a system is the constant reproduction of its own prerequisites for existence. When the "inputs" of a system are identical to the "outputs," however, then the system is tautological. The internal system of organization which is found in the consciousness of reconciliation is tautological because its final results are the same as its prerequisites. Its assumptions are its conclusions; it ends where it begins. The repetitive quality of reconciliation is aptly expressed by its prefix: "re" means "again."

On the level of appearance the tautological movement of reconciliation can be broken. The reconciler can--in fact, usually does--reject doctrinairism, for example. Unfortunately, such apparent breaks in reconciliation's circular process are included within reconciliation itself; as such, they are entirely formal. These surges are inherent to reconciliation in its cult of contradiction. In the case of formal break outs, this cult is that of a contradiction between the tautological process and its prerequisites and results. Thus, the middle class reconciler can reject the cult of contradiction, a prerequisite and result of reconciliation. But the reconciler can only do so by the process of turning his rejection into another contradiction which is cultivated. Reconciliation can spurn the cult

²⁵Marx, Capital, Volume III, p. 842.

of synthesis--but only by way of another synthesis. It can deny its own idealism--but only by idealizing its denial. It can repudiate its obsession with symbols--but only in terms of more symbols. And reconciliation can reject dogmatism--but only dogmatically. Contradictively anticontradiction, ideally antiideal, symbolically anti-symbolic, dogmatically antidogmatism--the opposition between pre-requisites/results and their formulative process is why the cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism are the vital elements of middle class reconciliation even though they are denied as such. In fact, these purported breakthroughs by the reconciler are essential to the self-repeating process of reconciliation.

The tautological movement of reconciliation as a whole, then, remains intact. What at first professed to be reconciliation's savior turns out to be its sandman.

Each of the dynamic elements of reconciliation was associated with an aspect of the concrete social existence of the middle class. The cult of contradiction reflects the back and forth movement of the middle class between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The cult of synthesis mirrors the features which the middle class holds in common with each of the other classes. And idealism expresses the basic separation of the middle class from both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. There remains the problem of locating the social basis for the tautological functioning of these three elements when taken together.

First, as was noted in Chapter I, the development of bourgeois society erodes away the material basis for middle class existence. Small capital withers under competition and better-paid employment opportunities are devalued. "The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens [the middle class] with certain destruction--on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat."²⁶

²⁶Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto, in Dirk Struik, The Birth of The Communist Manifesto, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 118.

A circumscribed material existence is the cocoon for a circumscribed consciousness. Faced with an objective situation of steady deterioration, the middle class can hope only to hold the line between capital and labor. But a capitalist economy refuses to stand still.*

In brief, reconciliation revolves around itself because the middle class has no future as the middle class. Any advance on its part is a retreat into one of the other classes. The middle class, then, has no place to go mentally because it has nowhere to go materially without ceasing to exist. Behind the sun of reconciliation is. . .reconciliation! At best, it can wink at itself in the dark.

Secondly, the tautological quality of reconciliation can be associated with the type of production relationships characterizing small property. These relationships are basically unsocialized. They are in contrast to the socialized relationships created by large capital.

Marx discussed the unsocialized relations of small production as follows:

The free ownership of the self-managing peasant is evidently the most normal form of landed property for small-scale operation, i.e., for a mode of production. . .in which the cultivator. . .always must produce his own means of subsistence independently, as an isolated labourer with his family. Ownership of the land is as necessary for full development of this mode of production as ownership of tools is for free development of handicraft production. Here is the basis for the development of personal independence.²⁷

Marx was speaking here of agriculture. But his reference to handi-

*To restrain both capital and labor, the middle class may attempt, for example, a wage-price freeze. A wage-profit freeze, however, will be forever beyond its capacity.

²⁷Marx, Capital, Volume III, p. 807.

crafts indicates that the observation is applicable to small-scale production in general.

Engels elaborated on Marx's theme of the individualism inherent to small production:

Before capitalistic production, i.e., in the Middle Ages, the system of petty industry obtained generally, based upon the private property of the laborers in their means of production; in the country, the agriculture of the small peasant, freeman or serf; in the towns, the handicrafts organised in guilds. . . . To concentrate these scattered, limited means of production, to enlarge them, to turn them into the powerful levers of production of the present day--this was precisely the historical rôle of capitalist production and of its upholder, the bourgeoisie. . . . But the bourgeoisie. . . could not transform these puny means of production into mighty productive forces without transforming them, at the same time, from means of production of the individual into social means of production only workable by a collectivity of men. . . . The yarn, the cloth, the metal articles that now came out of the factory, were the joint product of many workers, through whose hands they had successively to pass before they were ready. No one person could say of them: "I made that; this is my product." . . . In the midst of the old division of labor, grown up spontaneously and upon no definite plan, which had governed the whole of society, now arose division of labor upon a definite plan, as organised in the factory; side by side with individual production appeared social production.²⁸

The tautological movement of middle class reconciliation, then, is a representation in thought of the individual production pertaining to small economic units. This individual production consists of the fact that the small producer is by and large his own prerequisite and result by virtue of his ownership of the means of production.

²⁸Frederick Engels, Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, International Publishers, New York, 1969, pp. 55-6.

Third and finally, the external and internal limitations of reconciliation which "keep it to itself" are reinforced by the tertiary sector. The tertiary sector appears to be independent of the production sector. Consequently, the tertiary sector "is a sphere where the relations under which value is originally produced are pushed completely into the background."²⁹ It is also the sphere in which the middle class is concentrated in advanced capitalism.

The production sector of capitalism is already "an enchanted, perverted, topsy-turvy world. . . ." ³⁰ The addition of the tertiary sector brings this world to a full fruition:

the actual process of production, as a unity of the direct production process and the circulation process, gives rise to new formations, in which the vein of internal connections is increasingly lost, the production relations are rendered independent of one another, and the component values become ossified into forms independent of one another. ³¹

The material process which leads to the separation and ossification in consciousness of contents which are really interconnected and flowing is an essential prerequisite for the cult of contradiction.

Moreover, the tertiary sector is a "sphere of competition, which, considered in each individual case, is dominated by chance. . . ." ³² Pure chance, however, is tantamount to pure determination. And pure determination rephrased is a belief in eternal relations--a basic assumption of the cult of synthesis.

Also, as a result of the predominance of chance in the tertiary sector, "the inner law, which prevails in. . . accidents and regulates them, is only visible when these accidents are grouped together in

²⁹Marx, Capital, Volume III, p. 827.

³⁰Ibid., p. 830.

³¹Ibid., p. 828.

³²Ibid., p. 828.

large numbers, where it remains, therefore, invisible and unintelligible to the individual agents. . . ."³³ The difficulty of perceiving concrete regularities engenders transcendentalism or idealism, the third dynamic element of reconciliation.

In short, the tertiary sector "consummates" the "complete mystification of the capitalist mode of production, the conversion of social relations into things, the direct coalescence of the material production relations with their historical and social determination."³⁴ In the tertiary sector, the three dynamic elements of reconciliation and their tautological functioning are held up and magnified in a black obsidian mirror.

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The cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism: these are the wildflowers of middle class consciousness frozen in glass. They grow in the grotto of social stultification. There, the inanimate world is pure periphery; the animate world, pure prelude.

The tautological movement of reconciliation as a whole was associated with material factors external and internal to the middle class. Externally, reconciliation is contained by capital and labor, and also by the abstract character of the tertiary sector with respect to production. Internally, reconciliation is self-confined by individualistic relationships orbiting around themselves.

Taken together, the three elements and their tautological operation can be reduced to the fact that the middle class exists in, around, and in spite of bourgeois society. As Marx noted, small property "by its very nature excludes the development of social productive forces of labour, social forms of labour, social concentration of capital, . . . and the progressive application of science."³⁵

³³Ibid., p. 828.

³⁴Ibid., pp. 829, 830.

³⁵Ibid., p. 807.

This material difference distinguishes the middle class from both the bourgeoisie and the proletariat: its initiative is their inertia; its gains, their losses; its hopes, their despair. No analysis or program is realistic without treating the middle class for what it continually proves itself to be: a separate entity.

In between, both, neither: the ambiguous status of the middle class in bourgeois society forever compels the ideology of reconciliation to repeat "once more" its last words: "Today the past; Tomorrow, the present!" There is, nevertheless, a future. The cyclical crisis of the economic basis of the middle class always brings the dynamic elements of reconciliation to a scarlet broil.

CHAPTER IV
THE "HEROES OF THE EXILE"

I. . . attacked the charlatans of the moment, of course, not as revolutionaries dangerous to the state, but as straws in the wind of counter-revolution.¹

The consciousness of reconciliation is associated with the customary position of the middle class in bourgeois society. With respect to the bourgeois and proletarian classes, this position is one of separation without independence, similarity without mutuality, of victimization with full representation. Sometimes one, often both, usually neither: reconciliation reflects a condition with all the quiet contingency of an abandoned car on a Belfast street.

And somewhere, a clock starts ticking. Rebellion begins to stir in its bed of crystal embers. Although it may emerge as less of a phoenix and more of a magpie, even in its fledgling stage rebellion carries momentous consequences.

The consciousness of rebellion in the middle class reflects the seepage in the position interjacent to capital and labor down to labor alone. In long-run terms, therefore, rebellion is the transitional phase between the consciousness of reconciliation and the consciousness of revolution, the two respective mentalities predominating in the middle class at the beginning and end of its decline.

Since "rebellion" and "reconciliation" are different words, there

¹Karl Marx, "Hirsch's Confessions," in Rodney Livingstone, Editor, The Cologne Communist Trial, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 276.

is an inclination to view them as distinct phenomena. As they pertain to middle class consciousness, however, rebellion and reconciliation cannot be rigidly separated. In the first cycles of economic decline, reconciliation moves into and returns from rebellion. Rebellion, for its part, arises out of and reverts back to reconciliation. Rebellion, then, is a phase of reconciliation in this early stage of middle class decline. Later, as the cycles of dissolution become more pronounced, the relationship is inverted: reconciliation is a phase of rebellion.*

Insofar as the intermediate position between capital and labor is the defining characteristic of the "middle" class, reconciliation is middle class consciousness per se. Marx's view of Proudhon, the reconciler, as "the philosopher and economist of the petty bourgeoisie" can be interpreted in this manner.

The elements comprising reconciliation were discussed in Chapter III: the cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism. These elements reflect the ambiguous position of the middle class with respect to capital and labor. The consciousness of rebellion mirrors the same perplexing social position: middle class rebels are still of the middle class, albeit a middle class which has been staggered by the ice pick of necessity. Consequently, the three vital elements of reconciliation also compose rebellion. As will be discussed later, the differences between reconciliation and rebellion are mainly quantitative and in terms of time.

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The "heroes of the exile" were the petty bourgeois leaders of

*Marx's analyses of rebellion correspond historically only to the earlier stage of middle class decline, the plight of the small producer. Therefore, the second stage in which reconciliation is a phase of rebellion instead of vice-versa is not considered here. Also, there is presumably a second general period in which the economic crisis has so deepened that rebellion is more of a preface to revolution than an appendix to reconciliation. This period is not examined here for the reason just given.

the 1848 uprising in Germany. Engels gave the following account of the events leading up to their defeat and subsequent exile in England.

With the exceptions of the old nobility, the bureaucracy, and the military, opposition to the monarch gathered steam throughout Germany after 1830.² The emerging bourgeoisie wanted to test its strength, and joined forces with the middle class. Notable among the latter were the "professional oppositionists" who had sprung up in the small assemblies. Joining the antigovernmental group was the "Young Hegelians,"³ a philosophical school which carried on the Hegelian tradition in opposition to the status quo, and of which Marx had once been a member.

In March of 1848, Vienna and Berlin exploded. In Berlin the King surrendered. Outbreaks took place in the smaller states of Germany.⁴ Almost immediately after the revolt, however, the bourgeoisie began to conclude "an alliance with the conquered feudal and bureaucratic interests." The Austrian and Prussian bourgeoisie were not strong enough to retain power at this point in history.⁵

In opposition to the bourgeois-absolutist alliance was the Democratic Party. This Party was similar to the Social Democracy in France, being "headed by the petty trading and shopkeeping class" with the support of "the large majority of the working people. . . ."⁶

Following the victories in Vienna and Berlin in March, the insurgent forces throughout Germany elected representatives to a National Assembly. The Frankfurt Assembly, however, was "composed in its majority of [bourgeois] Liberal attorneys and doctrinaire professors," who were "more frightened of the least popular movement than of all the reactionary plots. . . put together."⁷ It

²Frederick Engels, Germany: Revolution and Counter-Revolution, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 27.

³Ibid., pp. 19-20.

⁴Ibid., p. 40.

⁵Ibid., p. 49.

⁶Ibid., p. 46.

⁷Ibid., p. 51.

established local Legislative Assemblies in which the same social elements predominated. Other than the convocation of these local assemblies, however, the Frankfort Assembly "passed imaginary resolutions for which nobody cared. . . ."8

In April of 1848, the forces of reaction were on the ascendancy throughout Europe.⁹ Austria and Prussia fell in 1849, and the restoration group then turned its attention to the smaller states which found their center of organization in the Frankfort Assembly.¹⁰ The Assembly wavered under the pressure of Austria, and appealed to the Prussian Government: "Incredible as it would seem, it bent its knees before the very ministers whom it had condemned as unconstitutional and anti-popular. . . ."11 The Frankfort Assembly created the Imperial Constitution by which the King of Prussia would be elected Emperor of Germany (minus Austria): "The historical irony was complete. . . ."12 The Constitution really reflected the interests of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie who had become "tired of the Revolution."¹³

Prussia, however, rejected the Imperial Constitution. With a conflict now inevitable between Prussia, its allies and the Frankfort Assembly, the Austrian and conservative members of the Assembly voted with their feet. The walkout left the petty bourgeois democrats in control of the Assembly.

"Poor fellows! Their rule--if rule it can be named, where no one obeyed--was a still more ridiculous affair than even the rule of their predecessors."¹⁴ The democrats declared that the Imperial Constitution would be enforced immediately. "Now this was an open declaration of war against those Governments that had not recognised the Imperial Constitution, the foremost among which were Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, comprising more than three-fourths of the German

⁸Ibid., p. 52.

⁹Ibid., p. 62.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 87.

¹¹Ibid., p. 89.

¹²Ibid., p. 93.

¹³Ibid., p. 95.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 98.

population." Tension mounted as the popular forces lined up in favor of the Constitution, their state governments against it. In Baden the Grand Duke was replaced by a Provisional Government. Elsewhere, the people "only awaited a decisive signal from the [Frankfort] National Assembly to rise in arms and place themselves at its disposal."¹⁵

At this crucial moment the Assembly did nothing. It allowed the revolts to be crushed, confining itself to "a posthumous, sentimental protest against the unfeeling violence of the Prussian Government. . . . In short, [the Assembly democrats] went on talking, protesting, proclaiming, pronouncing, but never had the courage or the sense to act. . . ." ¹⁶ In Baden the circumstances were favorable to the revolt, but "the movement, having once got into the hands of the petty bourgeoisie, was ruined from its very beginning." The middle class leaders felt guilty about overthrowing the Duke, failed to organize the uprising, and in general "did everything in their power to take the sting out of the movement, to unman, to destroy it."¹⁷

The Frankfort Assembly ended in June of 1849, when the Prussians had the Assembly's meeting room locked up.¹⁸ The Baden movement collapsed in July of the same year. The German Revolution was crushed.¹⁹

The petty bourgeois participants in the revolt who fled to England are the subjects of the essay, Heroes of the Exile, written in 1852. In their work Marx and Engels hit the exiles with a satirical attack filled with laser-guided ridicule. Due to its sarcastic tone, Heroes of the Exile generally has not been treated as a serious work;

It took Marx three months of research and

¹⁵Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 101.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 106.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 110-11.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 107.

gossip-gathering, and the help of his wife, of Engels, and of a number of disciples, to produce a lengthy and tedious manuscript entitled Die grossen Maenner des Exiles. . . it finally fell into the hands of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow and now appears in slightly over one hundred unreadable (except in the line of duty) and inglorious pages of Volume VIII of the Werke. . . .²⁰

Heroes of the Exile cannot be lightly dismissed as a scurrilous cartoon. First, Marx and Engels were writing in the satirical style popular in Germany in the nineteenth century. The foremost literary representative of the German satirists is the poet Heinrich Heine, and quotations from his works appear throughout Heroes of the Exile.²¹

Secondly, satire reflects very real social and economic conditions. The neoPlatonist Alfred North Whitehead noted that satire emerges in a period of decline:

Satire is the last flicker of originality in a passing epoch as it faces the onroad of staleness and boredom. Freshness has gone; bitterness remains. The prolongation of outworn forms of life means a slow decadence in which there is repetition without any fruit in the reaping of value. There may be high survival power. For decadence, undisturbed by originality or by external forces, is a slow process.²²

Whitehead's observation is highly descriptive of Germany in the middle of the nineteenth century:

It was the 1848 Revolution which for the first time placed before the surviving [literary]

²⁰Bertram D. Wolfe, Marxism: One Hundred Years in the Life of a Doctrine, The Dial Press, New York, 1965, p. 155.

²¹Rodney Livingstone, "Introduction," The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 32. For more on the relationship of the Heroes to German literature, see *ibid.*, pp. 30-3.

²²Alfred North Whitehead, Adventures of Ideas, The Free Press, New York, 1967, p. 278.

representatives of this epoch the choice of either recognizing the perspective held out by the new period in human development and affirming it, even if with a tragic cleavage of spirit, like Heine, or of sinking into the position of apologists for declining capitalism, as Marx. . .critically demonstrated in the case of such important figures as Guizot and Carlyle.²³

In short, satire expresses social decomposition in its ultra-violet stage. This is why a tender, hot and burning indignation over the sarcastic tone of the Heroes is truly beside the point. In fact, the style of Marx and Engels' essay will tend to increase in prominence as the dissolution of the middle class becomes more severe.

Third and finally, Marx was attempting in the Heroes "to establish a firm demarcation line between his own views and those of the other revolutionaries in exile."²⁴ In at least one instance, the incision wrought by Marx is an amputation of his own rebellious past from his revolutionary present: Arnold Ruge, one of the "heroes" who Marx denounces most fervently, had been one of his best friends in the "Young Hegelian" days. In any event, what emerges from Marx's objective of cleavage is his most straightforward portrait of middle class rebellion.

Due to its unavailability in English until 1971, and the highly unfavorable criticism which the essay has aroused, the Heroes of the Exile is quoted extensively in the proceeding analysis. It should be reiterated that this investigation is concerned only with Marx's view of the rebel exiles, not with the factual accuracy of his account. Marx's discussions of middle class rebels achieve their significance because the people he analyzes represent a social type--not because they are important as individuals.

Finally, I had originally intended to provide illustrations such as those presented in Chapter II. After gathering a considerable

²³Georg Lukacs, The Historical Novel, Beacon Press, Boston, 1963, p. 30.

²⁴Livingstone, "Introduction," p. 9.

amount of material, however, I concluded that such an approach would be unproductive. For one thing, the topic of rebellion in the contemporary world is of such importance and complexity that a cursory treatment would be seriously misleading. And for another, illustrations would be redundant. The examples of middle class rebellion employed by Marx are readily observable in present-day life. They are as immediately recognizable as a star sapphire.

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It was noted that middle class rebels represent the middle class in a period of crisis. Rebellion, therefore, has the same internal gyroscope as reconciliation: the cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism.

Marx depicted the manifestations of these three dynamic elements of consciousness in the rebel exiles as follows:

The cult of contradiction

The cult of contradiction consists of a coexistence of opposites and a back and forth movement between them. Marx described Arnold Ruge, a member of the Frankfort Assembly and the "Young Hegelians": "Able as he was in detecting contradictions he was all the more feeble in resolving them and he had a very understandable horror of dialectics. The upshot was that the crudest possible contradictions dwelt peaceably together in his dogmatic brain. . . ."25 Pointing out to Ruge his inconsistencies was a futile enterprise. When reminded of the discrepancy between his bellicose official position and his Quakerish informal attitude, for example, Ruge would only reply: "Well, there you have the contradictions. That's the dialectic for you. In my youth I studied Hegel."26

The opposing terms of the cultivated contradiction need not

²⁵Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Heroes of the Exile, in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 174.

²⁶Ibid., p. 190.

be openly manifested simultaneously. Marx characterized Gottfried Kinkel, a poet and journalist who escaped Prussian imprisonment for his participation in the Baden uprising, as an "irresolute dilettante" who "swayed like a reed, now advancing, now retreating, now launching a project, now dissociating himself from it, always tacking to adjust to the wind of popularity."²⁷

Finally, the cult of contradiction may be exhibited as a relationship between two individuals or groups, rather than in the same individual or group.

The cult of contradiction by the middle class "heroes" took the following types of content:

Total intellectualism to antiintellectualism.--Arnold Ruge "had to poke his nose into everything. No hen could lay an egg without Ruge 'commenting on the reason underlying the event.'"²⁸ Ruge's diligence in "daily literary production" was indicative of a blue thumb: "It is this that his admirers refer to when they say that he cannot hold his ink."²⁹

Amand Goegg, a journalist and member of the Provisional Government in Baden, declared modestly "that the Paris proletariat had lost [in 1848]. . .because it did not possess his own Franco-Badenese democratic experience nor the insights available elsewhere in the frenchified Germany of the South."³⁰

Harro Harring, a writer who had lived in exile in various European nations since 1825, felt a pressing obligation to create a literary masterpiece:

What was missing was a great work that would present in an entertaining and popular form the great doctrines of freedom, the idea of democracy, and of nationality and all the sublime struggles for freedom on the part of the youthful Europe arising before his very eyes. . . .Thus arose the first

²⁷Ibid., pp. 142, 208.

²⁸Ibid., p. 178.

²⁹Ibid., p. 175.

³⁰Ibid., p. 213.

three plays of the "dramatic cycle" The People, of which there were twelve parts in all, one of them in Danish, a labour to which the author devoted ten years of his life. Unfortunately eleven of these twelve parts have "hitherto remained in manuscript".³¹

Antiintellectualism appeared in such diverse clothing as Hegelianism and "commonsense." Arnold Ruge "had endured seven years in Prussian prisons for democratic agitation. He embraced Hegelian philosophy as soon as he had realized that once he had leafed through Hegel's Encyclopaedia he could dispense with the study of all other science."³²

Joseph Fickler, a journalist who had participated in the Baden movement, "shares the opinion of his friend Ruge that much study makes you stupid and for this reason he warned his friend Goegg not to visit the library of the British Museum."³³

Karl Heinzen, another journalist involved in the Baden uprising, was satisfied with the

healthy commonsense which [he] ascribes to himself in the highest possible degree. It is inevitable that a man with such commonsense will turn out to be a natural genius who has learnt nothing, a barbarian innocent of literature and science. By virtue of his commonsense (which he also calls his "perspicacity" and which allows him to [claim] that he has "advanced to the extreme frontiers of thought"), he learns only from hearsay or the newspapers.³⁴

Total reaction to total revolution, complete pacificism to complete violence. --Heinzen responded to a warrant for his arrest issued by the Prussian Government with his own "'warrant' against the Prussian government which contained inter alia a sermon on moral

³¹Ibid., p. 192.

³²Ibid., p. 173.

³³Ibid., p. 213.

³⁴Ibid., p. 183.

resistance and constitutional monarchy and condemned revolution as immoral and jesuitical." On escaping to Switzerland, however, Heinzen "began a trade in pamphlets which in the coarsest tones of the Swiss peasant preached immediate revolution and death to the rulers from whom all the evils of the world stem." While the pamphlets failed to achieve instant revolution, they succeeded in giving Heinzen "a great reputation among itinerant German wine salesmen who praised him everywhere as a bonny little fighter."³⁵

Non-violent resistance always presupposes violence. The ethical advantage sought can be created only by contrast. A resolute "horror of bloodshed" made Heinzen

into the alchemist of the revolution. He dreamt of an explosive substance that would blast the whole European reaction into the air in a trice without its users even getting their fingers burnt. He had a particular aversion to walking amid a shower of bullets and in general to conventional warfare in which principles are no defense against bullets.³⁶

When "the authentic exploding silver had still not been discovered, new weapons had to be found to combat the reaction." Heinzen then turned into an one-man unlawful assembly: "He called for two million heads so that he could be a dictator and wade up to his ankles in blood--shed by others."³⁷

Arnold Ruge's warrior position in exile was the direct opposite of his posture during the German Revolution. When Berlin was in revolt he published a newspaper The Reform in which he extolled the virtues of constitutional democracy. When Berlin came under siege, however,

Arnold became an enthusiastic advocate of

³⁵Ibid., p. 185.

³⁶Ibid., p. 182.

³⁷Ibid., p. 186.

passive resistance which he himself put into practice by leaving his paper, editors and everything in the lurch and running away. Active flight is evidently the most resolute form of passive resistance. The counter-revolution had arrived and Ruge fled before it all the way from Berlin to London without stopping.³⁸

Julius Faucher, a journalist and "Young Hegelian," was "one of those Berlin Huguenots who know how to exploit their minor talent with great commercial adroitness." He was employed by "Hamburg commercial interests to make propaganda. During the revolutionary disturbances they allowed him to preach free trade in the apparently chaotic form of anarchism." The coexistence of violence and pacificism appeared during his joint editorship of the Berlin Abendpost: "Under the pretence of wishing to abolish the state and introduce anarchy he refrained from dangerous opposition towards the existing government. . . ." ³⁹

High principles versus base practice. --Marx explained how prosaic contradictions well up into the more general form of theory versus practice--and thereafter, into a cult:

Always riding firmly between his own contradictions [Arnold Ruge] sought to extricate himself from condemnation by the theorists by declaring his faulty theory to be "practical", while at the same time he would disarm the practical by interpreting his practical clumsiness and inconsequentiality as theoretical expertise. He would end by sanctifying his own entanglement in insoluble contradictions, his chaotically uncritical faith in popular slogans by regarding them as proof that he was a man of "principle."⁴⁰

The "man of 'principle'," however, turns out to be a man of baseness. Just as principles were caps for "insoluble contradictions," the principles themselves are also contradictions--to insidious behavior. Lofty principles over crass conduct, together with its intellectual manifestation of theory versus practice, are

³⁸Ibid., p. 180.

³⁹Ibid., p. 211.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 174.

the coat of arms of "philistinism," which Marx proceeded to embroider across Arnold Ruge's forehead:

Even though Arnold did not manage to comprehend the Hegelian system of philosophy, he did succeed in representing one Hegelian category in his own person. He was the very incarnation of the "honest consciousness." . . . Though he wears his integrity on his sleeve the honest consciousness uses it to conceal the petty malice and crotchetyness of the Philistine; he has the right to allow himself every kind of base action because he knows that his baseness springs from honest motives. His very stupidity becomes a virtue because it is an irrefutable proof that he stands up for his principles. . . . Beneath the halo of good intentions all the petty meannesses of the citizen become transformed into as many virtues; sordid self-interest appears as an innocent babe when dressed up to look like a piece of self-sacrifice; cowardice appears disguised as a higher form of courage, baseness becomes magnanimity, and the coarse manners of the peasant become ennobled, and indeed transfigured into the signs of decency and good humour. This is the gutter into which the contradictions of philosophy, democracy and the cliché industry all pour. . . . Philistine and ideologist, atheist and slogan worshipper, absolute ignoramus and absolute philosopher all in one--that is Arnold Ruge as Hegel foretold him in 1806.⁴¹

Karl Heinzen, the commonsense alchemist who called for two million heads,

takes the craze for principles to extremes. In this field Heinzen is second to none. He draws attention to his principles at every opportunity, every argument is met by an appeal to principle, everyone who fails to understand him or whom he does not understand is demolished by the argument that he has no real principles, his insincerity and pure ill-will are such that he would

⁴¹Ibid., p. 176.

deny that day was day and night night.⁴²

Marx summed up the contradiction between angelic principles and vile actions, exquisite theory and squalid practice, by referring to the exiled rebels as "democratic Machiavellis."⁴³

In conclusion, the prerequisites of the cult of contradiction are always its final results. It has already been noted how ensnarement in contradictions leads to their cultivation or glorification. But cultivation in turn is already in the contradictions. A riverbed of opposites is the result of the flow of extremism endemic to glorification. The content and form, results and process of the cult of contradiction constantly reproduce one another. Thus, when confronted with someone who "has no real principles," Heinzen "summons up his muse, indignation; he curses, rages, boasts, preaches, and foaming at the mouth he roars out the most tragicomical imprecations."⁴⁴ Here cause and effect pour lime on lime.

The back and forth movement between two opposing extremes, then, is itself invariably another extreme. Viewed without regard to any specific content, the cult of contradiction is a thought process that creates extremes where there were none to begin with. In Heinzen's book, Prussian Bureaucracy, "His own sufferings and those of his father, a forester, in his conflicts with superiors assumed the proportions of events of universal significance [but were really] nothing more than the complaints of a petty official against the higher authorities."⁴⁵

The cult of synthesis

As was discussed in the previous chapter, the cult of synthesis has as its goal the "best" of both worlds, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, without the "worst" of either. But instead of being "both of the above," the petty bourgeois "synthesis" turns out to be

⁴²Ibid., p. 184.

⁴³Ibid., p. 221.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 184.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 184-5.

"neither of the above." The final outcome arises from the fact that the material reality shared by the middle class with the bourgeoisie and proletariat is adequate for creating only illusions of mutuality. In this sense, middle class synthesis is the result of a social existence inside of a huge lemon.

Instead of combining "the good side" of both capital and labor, synthesis ends up as a completely cerebral solution of dreaming oneself away from the class struggle. "Synthesis" in this case might be better understood in terms of one of its synonyms: "artificial."

The synthetic element moves to the foreground when the contradictions which are cultivated prove themselves incapable of acquiring anything other than a symbolic existence. The remaining symbolism-reality contradiction leaves the middle class member with residues of the former contradictions for contents, the extremist thought process intact for form.

The growth of the synthetic component is clearly displayed in the love affairs of Gottfried Kinkel, the "irresolute dilettante" who bounced from project to project. After successfully acquiring both a lover and a fiancée, Kinkel "stood like Buridan's ass between two bundles of hay, unable to decide between them."⁴⁶ Caught helplessly between two opposing extremes, he proceeded to glorify them: "In Gottfried's romances we often find the religious element alternating with the novelistic and theatrical element."⁴⁷

Sanctification, however, proved after a period to be without indemnification. Kinkel's inability to partake fully of either of the opposite extremes, or somehow to reconcile them both, ended in an anticlimax without a climax preceding it: his "sham conflicts of love have led to the happy result that he is able in his imagination to think himself unhappy."⁴⁸ "Posing as a romantic hero,"⁴⁹

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 153.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 149.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 145.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 145.

Kinkel's life now became a "comedy of misunderstood tender souls."⁵⁰

Only one step was lacking to complete Kinkel's synthesis. That plateau was reached in his subsequent days in exile. The extremist thought process whirling inside Kinkel's head finally turned against his sensitive comedy, transforming it into a tragedy of "outraged indignation of beautiful souls who have been swindled."⁵¹ The major concrete effect of the entire development was the cheating of a number of women cast aside by the "whole emotional swindle of his vacuous encounters. . . ." ⁵² The complete saga can be summarized as the Virgin "restored."

As was noted in the discussion of Proudhon, the cult of contradiction and the cult of synthesis are not separate and distinct. Rather, the cult of synthesis is the opposite of the cult of contradiction. Therefore, synthesis is only the logical extension of the cult of contradiction: the contradiction of contradictions. Karl Heinzen and Arnold Ruge illustrate how the cults of contradiction and synthesis reproduce each other:

Just as Arnold sought to assimilate the ideas of his opponents in the course of polemicising against them, so Heinzen learned to acquire ideas new to him by reviling them. Hardly had he become an atheist than with all the zeal of the proselyte he immediately plunged into a furious polemic against poor old Follen because the latter saw no reason to become an atheist in his old age.⁵³

The manifestations of the synthetic element in the consciousness of the exiles were basically of two types:

Autism.--One's own individuality serves here as the Apollo module for escaping from outer space. This type of synthesis is explained materially by the unsocialized relations characterizing middle class

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 150.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 224.

⁵²Ibid., p. 145.

⁵³Ibid., p. 185.

production.

Marx considered autism to be the key to Kinkel's synthetic romances. "It finally becomes apparent that all of these arranged love stories were nothing but Gottfried's coquettish infatuation with himself."⁵⁴ The outraged innocence appearing at the end of his saga suggests that Kinkel's self-indulgence was inseparably linked to a state of infantilism. The latter continued into adulthood in the condition of cryptonic suspension: "inevitably," since he really "has experienced nothing," Gottfried "constantly dwells on his inner feelings."⁵⁵

Harro Harring, author of the unpublished classic The People, became a "demagogic Hidalgo" with a rainbow in his shoes:

In Greece and Brazil, on the Vistula and La Plata, in Schleswig-Holstein and in New York, in London and in Switzerland: the representative of Young Europe and of the South American Humanidad, painter, nightwatchman and employee, peddler of his own writings; among Poles one day and gauchos the next, and ship's captains the day after that; unacknowledged, abandoned, ignored but everywhere an itinerant knight of freedom with a thoroughgoing dislike of ordinary bourgeois hard work--our hero at all times in all countries and in all circumstances remains himself; with the same confusion, the same meddlesome pretensions, the same faith in himself. He will always defy the world and never cease to say, write and print that since 1831 he has been the mainspring of world history.⁵⁶

An extraordinary demand for an item usually is related to a limited supply. Marx explained Kinkel's "sham Romanticism" as "the travesty and the caricature of ancient stories and romances which Gottfried re-lives to make up for the lack of any inner

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 145.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 140.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 196.

substance of his own. . . ."57 When all landscape is converted into pure inscape, the latter is reduced to a contentless form. Kinkel's development is different from the tale of Narcissus who eventually became a flower.

Torpidity and procrastination. --These two aspects of synthesis are closely interrelated. Those who essentially have nothing to do must endeavor to "keep busy." Therefore, torpidity and procrastination can be combined together as active inactivity.

The economic basis associated with active inactivity can be found in the question of devaluation of middle class functions. As was discussed in Chapter I, with hard work the middle class employee achieves his way into the proletariat. His diligence serves to reduce the circulation costs of capitalist production. Conversely, dilatory puttering functions as an opposing tendency to the cheapening of middle class work. Hence, although negligence is uneconomical for society as a whole it still is useful for pre-serving the middle class.

Arnold Ruge, the incarnation of "honest consciousness" and practitioner of passive resistance, wanted "merely to do something that would have the appearance of action, the semblance of profound political schemes, something that, above all, would provide matter for self-important consultations, frequent appearances and complacent gossip."58 As the self-appointed "guard of German philosophy," Ruge could only

envy the happy Bruno Bauer who had published 18 fat volumes while still a young man. To reduce the discrepancy Ruge had one and the same essay printed three times in one and the same volume under different titles and then brought out the same volume in a number of different formats. In this way Arnold Ruge's Complete Works came into being and even today he derives much pleasure from counting them every

57Ibid., p. 145.

58Ibid., p. 206.

morning volume by volume as they stand there
neatly bound in his library. . . .⁵⁹

Gottfried Kinkel's ambition was to become a stone reptile
watching the snow melt on a distant mountaintop. For him

movement is nothing more than a means by which
to arrive at a few irremovable eternal truths
and then to subside into a slothful tranquillity. . . .Gottfried's apologetic book-keeping
of his whole development will enable the
reader to judge the intensity of the revolutionary impulse that lay concealed in the
melodramatic hamming of this theologian.⁶⁰

Defined in terms of occupation, "The self-confessed goal of
Kinkel's desires was that he should die as an old theatre director:
his ideal was a certain old Eisenhut who together with his troupe
used to roam up and down the Rhine as a travelling Pickelhäring
[clown] and who afterwards went mad."⁶¹ Kinkel later succeeded in
realizing his goal to some extent. On arriving in London he "re-
frained for the time being from all political activity and withdrew
into the seclusion of his home in order to grow a beard, without
which no prophet can succeed."⁶²

Karl Heinzen "did not wish to go to Prussia as he still feared
for his head despite the March Revolution and the general amnesty.
He would wait until the nation summoned him."⁶³

For Marx active inactivity was the trademark of the "heroes" as
a group. Their "true organisation" boils down to a "primeval German
tavern society of idlers":

There they all sat, the members of parliament,
the deputies of Chambers, the generals, the

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 175.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 156.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 157.

⁶²Ibid., p. 166.

⁶³Ibid., p. 186.

Club orators of the halcyon days of 1848 and 1849, they smoked their pipes just like ordinary people and debated the loftiest interests of the fatherland day after day, in public and with unshakeable dignity. This was the place where for the price of a few bottles of extremely cheap wine the German citizen could discover exactly what went on at the most secret meetings of the European cabinets. This was the place where he could learn to within a minute when "it would all start". In the meantime one bottle after another was started and all the Parties went home unsteadily but strengthened in the knowledge that they had made their contribution to the salvation of the fatherland.⁶⁴

Synthesis, as an extension of the cult of contradiction, is predicated upon its opposite somewhere else. This "elsewhere" often turns out to be in the forces of reaction. The basic dynamic of dependency on opposites was already illustrated in the autism of Gottfried Kinkel, whose "carnival gift of disguising oneself as other people is his authentic 'inner being'".⁶⁵ Harro Harring, the traveling demagogue, exemplifies how personal independency can be highly dependent on the political opposition: his books "had the unexpected good fortune to be banned by the Federal Diet on November 4, 1831."⁶⁶

Marx discussed how the autism of the "heroes" as a group was in reality created and maintained by the collective organization of the European reaction. The latter could be epitomized only by the utter destruction of the exiles' own collective organization back home:

As long as the aftermath of the July Revolution could still be felt in isolated insurrections in France, Germany or Italy, as long as they felt someone or other standing behind

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 209.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 145.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 191.

them our émigré heroes felt themselves to be but atoms in the seething masses--more or less privileged, prominent atoms, to be sure, but in the last analysis they were still atoms. But as these insurrections gradually grew feebler, as the great mass of "lackeys", of the "half-hearted" and the "men of little faith" retired from the putschist swindles and as our knights felt increasingly lonely, so did their self-esteem grow in proportion. If the whole of Europe became craven, stupid and selfish, how could our trusty heroes fail to grow in their own estimation, for were they not the priests who kept the sacred fires of hatred for all tyrants burning in their breasts and who maintained the traditions of virtue and love of freedom for a more vigorous generation yet to come! If they too deserted the flag the tyrants would be safe for ever [sic]. So . . . they saw in every defeat a guarantee of future victory and they gradually transformed themselves more and more into itinerant Don Quixotes with dubious sources of income.⁶⁷

As with autism so did active inactivity also depend upon its opposite somewhere else; positive initiative. Arnold Ruge demonstrated this relationship: although he plagiarized himself, Ruge's real "ambition was to print the works of others and in so doing, to derive material advantage and also to quarry literary sustenance for the effusions of his own brain."⁶⁸ Joseph Fickler, the ardent foe of the library in the British Museum, illustrates how active inactivity can hinge on the definite vigor of political opponents. His "only deeds during the Revolution were firstly his arrest by Mathy after the Voparlament, and, second, his arrest by Römer in Stuttgart in June 1849. Thanks to these arrests he was happily deprived of the opportunity to compromise himself."⁶⁹

Marx explained the exile group's active inactivity as a dependent variable correlated with the positive initiative of the

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 193.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 174.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 213.

German reaction:

The heroes of the 1848 revolution in Germany had been on the point of coming to a sticky end when the victory of "tyranny" rescued them, swept them out of the country and made saints and martyrs of them. They were saved by the counter-revolution. . . . It is evident that something had to happen, something had to be arranged to remind the public daily of the existence of these world-liberators. At all costs it must not become obvious that the course of universal history might be able to proceed without the intervention of these mighty men. The more this refuse of mankind found itself hindered by its own impotence as much as by the prevailing situation from undertaking any real action, the more zealously did it indulge in spurious activity whose imagined deeds, imagined parties, imagined struggles and imagined interests have been so noisily trumpeted abroad by those involved. The less able they were to bring about a new revolution the more they discounted the importance of such an eventuality in their minds, while they concentrated on sharing out the plum jobs and enjoying the prospect of future power.⁷⁰

The dynamic element of the cult of contradictions seemed to have its high watermark in the earlier days, when the opposition of the insurrectionary and reactionary forces was increasing. Thereafter, as the reactionary forces began to emerge victorious, the cult of synthesis moved to the forefront. Insofar as the synthetic units of autism and active inactivity were dependent upon the existence of their opposites in the forces of reaction, synthesis turns out to be the bottom end of the stick of the cult of contradictions. It is the syndrome of Van Gogh's ear. If the cult of contradiction characterizes rebellion in its opposition to the powers that be, the cult of synthesis emerges as opposition to the opposition--as rebellion existing both in and for itself alone:

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 168.

The privations of individuals, intrigues, plots, self-praise--the heroes spent their energies in such paltry activities. But [their group] did have one achievement to its credit: a history of its own, lying outside world history, with its own pettifoggery running parallel to public affairs. And the very fact that they fought each other so bitterly led each to believe in the importance of the other. Beneath the façade of all these strivings and conflicts lay the speculation in democratic party funds, "the Holy Grail", and this transformed these transcendental rivalries, these disputes about the Emperor's beard, into ordinary quarrels among fools. . . . Far from constituting any danger to existing circumstances these heroes of the exile wished only that everything should die down in Germany so that their voice might be heard the better and that the general level of thought should decline so far that even men of their stature might appear outstanding.⁷¹

The social reality of the exiles outlined above is testimony for the artificial and self-contained world comprising synthesis. It is the orphaned innocence of Gottfried Kinkel. It is a Harro Harring, jack-of-all-trades and an expert at none. It is an Arnold Ruge who wears around his waist the writing on the wall. In the end synthesis is best summed up by a word common in the mental health field: catatonia.

Idealism

The "heroes" were able to entertain highly individualistic behavior abundantly supplied with spare time by virtue of their social insulation. Their relative seclusion also permitted them to court such contradictions as total intellectualism versus complete antiintellectualism and pacificism versus violence. The third vital element, idealism, also is germinated and nurtured in a condition of splendid isolation. The proclivity for separating ideas

⁷¹Ibid., p. 215.

from practical life, then, reflects the social separation of those who perform it.

In the discussion of Proudhon idealism was defined in terms of three facets: doctrinairism and an obsession with symbols, which constitute together the tenet that the ideal is real, and the counterpart tenet that the real is ideal. These three aspects of idealism were manifested by the "heroes" in the following ways:

Doctrinairism.--This aspect amounts to having "it all figured out."

A clash developed among Reichenbach, a member of the Frankfort Assembly, Kinkel, and Willich (see the following chapter) because of their opposing, rigid, and entirely ideal conceptions of the future government. Marx noted that "these sorrowing bonhommes. . .were so obsessed with 'organization' and the guarantee of future posts that they had long before worked out a plan by which government posts would be awarded according to seniority--which produced a terrible scandal about who were to have Nos. 1, 2 and 3."⁷²

A similar squabble over a paper government broke out between Heinzen and Gustav Struve, a journalist and lawyer who had participated in the Baden uprising. Heinzen had composed a draft program for a German Revolutionary Party with the avowed purpose of ending the "ruinous disunity in the democratic German emigration." Struve disagreed with some of the items, and Heinzen's draft quickly became a corsage of ragweed:

instead of the hoped for unification it brought about the immediate separation of the two warriors. Heinzen had demanded that during the "revolutionary transition period" there should be a single dictator. . . .Gustav, on the other hand, argued for a triumvirate comprising two Badeners and himself. Moreover, Gustav found that Heinzen had included in his prematurely published programme an "idea" stolen from him.⁷³

⁷²Ibid., pp. 229-30.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 186-7.

These feuds indicate a fundamental reality of the exiles. Behind the assertions of absolute rectitude lurked bureaucrats in search of a bureaucracy.

Formulaism and obsession with symbols.--This facet of idealism can be summarized as the belief that history is made in a cloud of chalk dust.

A love of words was evident in "the unbelievable heights of perfection Ruge had developed the art of fabricating manifestos, proclamations and pronunciamientos."⁷⁴

Gottfried Kinkel transformed talk into a black sea of stars:

The device by means of which content is replaced by form and ideas by phrases has produced a host of declamatory priests in Germany [such as Kinkel] whose tendencies naturally led them finally in the direction of democracy. But whereas in theology at least a superficial knowledge is still essential here and there, in the democratic movement where an orotund but vacuous rhetoric, nullité sonore, makes intellect and an insight into realities completely superfluous, an empty phraseology came into its own.⁷⁵

Doctrinairism and an obsession with symbols constitute the idealist tenet that Ideas are real. This tenet is visible in the formula approach to the world's problems, i.e., the "fantastic pictures of future society"⁷⁶ which characterize critical-utopian socialism and communism.

Recipes for the betterment of mankind were common among the exiles. "For it is the fate of all great men not to be recognised by their own age whereas the future belongs to them. And Harro [Harring] had taken care of the future of the future--he had it in black and white in his bag in the form of the Charter of Brotherhood."⁷⁷

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 175.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 151.

⁷⁶Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The Communist Manifesto, in Dirk Struik, Birth of The Communist Manifesto, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 122.

⁷⁷Marx and Engels, Heroes of the Exile, p. 194.

Heinzen's draft program for a German Revolutionary Party "was distinguished by the invention of a special ministry 'to cater for the all-important need for public playgrounds, battlegrounds' (minus hail of bullets) 'and gardens', and was notable also for the article abolishing 'the privileges of the male sex especially in marriage'. . . ."78

Inseparable from formulaism is messianism. Marx noted that a part of critical-utopian socialism and communism was an effort "to pave the way for the new social Gospel."79 Kinkel declared himself to be "Noah in a new Flood,"80 and took off as a missionless missionary:

he continued to earn his living by hawking around his ideas about freedom and the people's paradise among the peasants of the region and it is said that his reception in a number of reactionary districts was anything but cordial. Despite these minor misfortunes Kinkel could be seen on every highroad, striding along purposefully, his rucksack on his back and from this point on he appears in all the newspapers accompanied by his rucksack.81

Gustav Struve undertook one of those "small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure," for which critical-utopians "are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois":82

For here, so he believed, a magic garden would flower and in it. . . virtue would rule instead of vice. An old Englishman with a sense of humour who had been bored by Gustav's theories took him at his word and gave him a few acres of moor in Yorkshire on the express condition that he would there found a "colony of renun-

78Ibid., p. 186.

79Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p. 122.

80Marx and Engels, Heroes of the Exile, p. 138.

81Ibid., p. 162.

82Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, pp. 122, 123.

ciation", a colony in which the consumption of meat, tobacco and spirits would be strictly prohibited, only a vegetarian diet would be permitted and where every colonist would be obliged to read a chapter from Struve's book on Constitutional Law at his morning prayers. Moreover, the colony was to be self-supporting. Accompanied by his Amalia, by Schnauffer, his Swabian canary and by a few other good men and true, Gustav placed his trust in God and went to found the "Colony of Renunciation". Of the colony it must be reported that it contained little prosperity, much culture and unlimited freedom to be bored and to grow thin.⁸³

The final outcome of formulaism and its cousins, messianism and moralistic projects, was noted in Chapter II. Critical-utopianism slowly slips into the category of bourgeois socialism, differing from it "only by a more systematic pedantry," fanaticism, and superstition.⁸⁴ Julius Faucher exhibited bourgeois socialism in his advocacy of free trade. Similarly, Struve dabbled in free trade along with formulas for bourgeois constitutions. So as not to render his diagrams of government too depersonalized, he even included his friends as amendments:

Gustav devised a constitution for the German Federal Republic in which Germany was to be divided into 24 republics, each with a president and two chambers; he appended a neat map on which the whole proposal could be clearly seen. . . . In Lörrach he published his *Moniteur* with the title of Government Organ--German Free State--Freedom, Prosperity, Education. This publication contained inter alia the following decree: "Article 1. The extra tax of 10 per cent on goods imported from Switzerland is hereby abolished; Article 2. Christian Müller, the Customs Officer is to be given the task of implementing this measure."⁸⁵

⁸³Marx and Engels, Heroes of the Exile, p. 187.

⁸⁴Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p. 123.

⁸⁵Marx and Engels, Heroes of the Exile, pp. 138, 162.

In addition to bourgeois socialism and critical-utopian socialism and communism, the "heroes" also exhibited the category of petty bourgeois socialism. Chapter II identified the major feature of petty bourgeois socialism as the desire to return to the feudal guild mode of production. Petty bourgeois socialism expresses the crisis of the small producer in a world of expanding capitalism.

The exiles' petty bourgeois socialism also contained whitecaps of formulaism and messianism. Gottfried Kinkel, the angel with clipped wings, was the best representative:

Above all [Kinkel] reserved his sympathy for the honourable caste of master craftsmen. He wept together with them over the decay of handicrafts, the monstrous effects of free competition, the modern dominance of capital and of machines. Together with them he devised plans to restore the guilds and to prevent the violation of guild regulations by the journeymen. So as to do everything of which he was capable he set down the results of his pub deliberations with the petty guild masters in the pamphlet entitled Handicraft, save yourself! Gottfried regards the state solely from the point of view of an official and hence arrives at the opinion that the easiest and surest way to help the artisan is by direct subsidy from the Treasury to erect trade halls and set up loan-funds. . . .Lastly, our theologian inevitably lapses into the role of moral preacher. He reads the artisan class a moral lecture on self-help. . . .This is followed by Jeremaids about the way in which the artisans carry on in the taverns and their wives indulge their love of finery.⁸⁶

Formulaism and an obsession with symbols are not identical. The latter often functions as an escape hatch for the former. Arnold Ruge illustrated this relationship. He would extricate himself from entanglement by twisting "theory" and "practice," then following up with an appeal to "principle." Kinkel used the same technique,

⁸⁶ibid., pp. 157-8, 160.

although his nullité sonore was composed of a symbolic outlet of a more mundane nature:

Kinkel makes his debut as a preacher. But as he lacks both the energy of the orthodox and the understanding that would enable him to see theology objectively, he comes to terms with Christianity on the level of lyrical and declamatory sentimentality. . . . That is to say, he presents a Christ who is a "friend and leader", he seeks to do away with formal aspects of Christianity that he proclaims to be "ugly", and for the content he substitutes a hollow phraseology.⁸⁷

The same device was utilized by Mockel, Kinkel's wife, with a small variation of "friend and leader." Mockel married Kinkel "after she had become a member of the Protestant Church despite her lack of faith. This was done on the shabby pretext that 'definite articles of faith are less important in the Protestant church than the ethical spirit'. . . ."88

In brief, the rebel "heroes" were seldom pinned down verbally because they were thoroughly pinned down socially. The exiles slid like amphibians between formulae and symbols, both of which were equally artificial in their dislocation from material reality. "Hollow phraseology" turns out to be only the cultivated contradiction of no phraseology at all. Heinzen, the would-be dictator, hoped to trump with a club; Kinkel, the would-be preacher, aspired to finesse with a heart.

Formulaism, messianism, moralism, an obsession with symbols--

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 151.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 155.

these facets of idealism are best summed up in Gustav Struve, who sculpted them in the most bizarre manner to serve his resolute individualism and love of contradiction:

To be just it must be said that faced with the greatly increased difficulties of distinguishing oneself these days, our Gustav at least made the effort to attract attention by using his diverse talents--he is part prophet, part speculator, part bunion healer--centring his activities on all kinds of peripheral matters and making propaganda for the strangest assortment of causes. . . . Regarding his own skull as normal he suddenly developed an interest in phrenology and from then on he refused to trust anyone whose skull he had not yet felt and examined. He also gave up eating meat and preached the gospel of strict vegetarianism; he was, moreover, a weather-prophet, he inveighed against tobacco and was prominent in the interest of German Catholicism and water-cures. In harmony with his thorough-going hatred of scientific knowledge it was natural that he should be in favour of free universities in which the four faculties would be replaced by the study of phrenology, physiognomy, chiromancy and necromancy. It was also quite in character for him to insist that he must become a great writer simply because his mode of writing was the antithesis of everything that could be held to be stylistically acceptable.⁸⁹

The real is an "Idea."--This is the third and final general aspect of middle class idealism. It is the culmination of the tenet that "Ideas" are real. Functionally, the transformation of reality into an "Idea" serves to complete the cycle of idealism as a no-deposit and no-return bottle.

The tenet that "Ideas" are real is neoplatonism, or a dualism between "Ideas" or "Forms" and the world of sense-experience. In the tenet that reality is an "Idea," sense-experience is denied any meaningful autonomy.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 170.

The rebel "heroes" manifested neoplatonism in their critical-utopianism, bourgeois socialism, and petty bourgeois socialism. The tenet that reality is an "Idea" characterizes the fourth category of consciousness exhibited by the exiles: German or "true" socialism. Marx illustrated this tenet at work in his description of German or "true" socialism:

For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money, [German socialists] wrote "Alienation of Humanity," and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote, "Dethronement of the Category of the General," and so forth. . . . [German socialists thought they represented] not true requirements, but the requirements of Truth; not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of Human Nature, of Man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical fantasy.⁹⁰

The conversion of reality into an "Idea" was epitomized by Arnold Ruge, the "Young Hegelian" filled with energetic inertia:

Action was necessary and so Ruge wrote two articles for the Leader in which under the pretext of an analysis of German democracy he declared that in Germany "humanism" was the order of the day as represented by Ludwig Feuerbach and Arnold Ruge, the author of the following works: (1) The Religion of our Age, (2) Democracy and Socialism, (3) Philosophy and the Revolution. These three epoch-making works which have not appeared in the bookshops to this day are, it goes without saying, nothing more than new titles arbitrarily applied to old essays of Ruge's.⁹¹

Gustav Struve exhibited the same thought process of idealizing reality minus the Hegelian trappings of German socialism. It will

⁹⁰Marx and Engels, The Communist Manifesto, p. 117.

⁹¹Marx and Engels, Heroes of the Exile, p. 181.

be recalled that Struve, his wife, several companions, and one Swabian canary founded the Colony of Renunciation to realize their (Struve's) ideals:

One fine morning Gustav uncovered a dreadful plot. His companions who did not share Gustav's ruminant constitution had resolved behind his back to slaughter the old cow, the only one and whose milk provided the chief source of income of the "Colony of Renunciation". Gustav wrung his hands and shed bitter tears at this betrayal of a fellow creature. He indignantly dissolved the colony and decided to become a "wet" Quaker if he were unable to revive the [newspaper] Deutscher Zuschauer or to establish a "provisional government" in London.⁹²

Gustav's outraged innocence was the telltale heart of a discrepancy between reality and his idealization of reality. As is usual in such cases, he was more prepared to abandon reality (dissolve the colony) than to give up the "Idea" of "Colony." Thus, rather than an analysis and remedy of the material condition of his friends' stomachs, Gustav decided to wait for "conditions to ripen to suit him." In the meantime, life was not heaven; therefore, it was hell.

The transformation of reality into an "Idea" is also visible in Gustav's first options for the future. There is nothing "Eternal" about a newspaper or a provisional government as such. Inside Gustav's head, however, the case was otherwise. The Deutscher Zuschauer was a small paper "that he published in Mannheim, that he patented and that pursued him everywhere as an idée fixe." As for the provisional government, after being liberated from prison Gustav had become a member of a real one, "and the mania for provisional governments was now added to his other idées fixes."⁹³

On the group level idealism fully unfurled its blank banner.

⁹²Ibid., pp. 187-8.

⁹³Ibid., pp. 170, 172.

An attempt to establish unity among the various factions turned into a forum in which the exiles disputed the sun and argued over last year's spring. In this "great war between the frogs and the mice,"⁹⁴ the "heroes" demonstrated an acute awareness of their shared reality. Unfortunately, each steadfastly held that this reality was applicable only to the other.

Heinzen, the aspiring dictator who vacillated between reaction and revolution, pronounced his exile opponents to be "egoists, royalists, and communists." He singled out Kinkel as "an incurably vain fool and an aristocratic adventurer. . . ." ⁹⁵

Joseph Fickler, the opponent of the library in the British Museum, demanded "that Ruge should henceforth cease to 'broadcast his rubbish to the whole world'. The coarse Fickler regarded as 'distinguished' only those writings by Ruge which he had not read and did not need to read." ⁹⁶

"Personal ambition is the whole secret of their fundamental position," "slippery manoeuvres," "paraded as an interesting unfortunate supreme commander," "terrible perfidity and presumptuousness," "always claims that he represents everybody," "the great hero, the brother of his brother," "immature politicians," "literary circle or a billiard club," "political nonentities who are neither half nor whole," "boastful inactivity," ⁹⁷—these were some of the smart bombs the "heroes" dropped on each other. As Marx concluded, "It must be confessed that in their understanding of each other these gentlemen have almost achieved an understanding of themselves." ⁹⁸ Almost, but not quite. In its projection elsewhere, reality once again was transposed into ether.

In summary, the belief that reality is an "Idea" is the fruition of the tenet that "Ideas" are real. It is the inconsistencies of the

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 215.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 227.

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 224-5.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 220-9.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 229.

latter warmed over on a teflon surface.

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The rebel "heroes" manifested the three dynamic elements of middle class consciousness as follows:

- I. The Cult of Contradiction.
 - a. total intellectualism to total antiintellectualism.
 - b. total pacificism to total violence.
 - c. from reaction to revolution.
 - d. theory versus practice.
 - e. high principles over base conduct.

- II. The Cult of Synthesis.
 - a. autism.
 - b. torpidity.
 - c. procrastination.

- III. Idealism.
 - a. "Ideas" are real.
 - (i) doctrinairism.
 - (ii) formulaism.
 - (iii) messianism.
 - (iv) obsession with symbols.
 - (v) bourgeois socialism, petty bourgeois socialism, and critical-utopian socialism.
 - b. reality is an "Idea."
 - (i) neglect of sense-experience.
 - (ii) projectionism.
 - (iii) German or "true" socialism.

Three points can be made concerning the pattern of ideology just outlined:

First, as was discussed in Chapter III, the basic elements of the cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism function together as a tautology. The repeating movement is manifested in such ways as idealism, in the tenet that the real is an "Idea," searches for an artificial world--a characteristic of the cult of synthesis; the cult of contradiction, in the effort to affirm the opposition of two terms, turns them into extremes which can be sustained only in symbols--a characteristic of idealism; and so forth. The self-contained and self-perpetuating character of middle class consciousness is evident as the ultimate limits of reconciliation are approached. For example, reconciliation can reject doctrinairism, one of its prerequisites and results. But the process of rejection is itself doctrinaire. Thus, reconciliation is always doctrinairely antidoctinaire. Middle class consciousness in the end reproduces its prerequisites and results, its assumptions and conclusions, despite allegations to the contrary. Indeed, such allegations are themselves a vital part of the entire tautological process.

The inability of middle class consciousness to supersede itself was traced to the inability of the middle class to develop materially within bourgeois society. This class cannot have its own future under capitalism, a future which is different from the present. Any forward motion turns out to be the disappearance of the middle class per se into the bourgeoisie or the proletariat.

The middle class "heroes" did not change classes. Therefore, the tautological functioning of the three dynamic elements characterized their consciousness of rebellion. This redundant movement is visible in the exiles' specific expressions of the three dynamic elements. For example, Kinkel's objective of "slothful tranquility" was cited as a manifestation of torpidity, or the element of synthesis. But the cult of contradiction is also present: the means to inertia were full of action--his own spurious activities and the positive initiative of the reactionary forces. Moreover, Kinkel's

goal contained idealism in that he sought a state of rest in the form of "a few irremovable eternal truths." Gustav Struve's strange formulae for human improvement were mentioned as a case of idealism, i.e., the assumption that "Ideas" are real. But the eccentricity of Gustav's plans exhibits autism, or synthesis; their utter contrariness, the cult of contradiction.

Any specific manifestation, then, can be expressed in terms of all three elements. This is so because the three elements are themselves only further elaborations of one another. It is often difficult to show that particular manifestations are indeed nothing more than restatements and duplications of one another. The logical process of middle class consciousness can travel a very circuitous route. Nevertheless, a view of this process in terms of the three elements collapses its distance into the significant areas. What emerges is the essential character of both reconciliation and rebellion: schools which are closed all year round.

The second major point is that the conclusions of middle class consciousness are more than foregone. They are also predetermined. The fact that the conclusions are foregone, that they are the same as the assumptions, reflects the tautological functioning discussed above. This redundant quality arises from the position of the particular class involved, the middle class. That the conclusions and assumptions also are predetermined reflects the attribute of reconciliation and rebellion as forms of class consciousness in general.

Arnold Ruge's antiintellectualism is a case in point. Probably, this conclusion appeared to him to be a spontaneous creation of his own viscera. However, as was shown, his hatred of science was combined with a reification of Hegelianism. Therefore, Ruge's antiintellectualism was actually a manifestation of the cult of contradiction--a logical process which by no means was "independently chosen" by him.

The predetermined aspect of Ruge's conclusion is also evident

in the quality of the two opposing terms comprising the cultivated contradiction. Both total intellectualism and complete anti-intellectualism are basically the same in their idealism and artificiality. Both pass over the end of the real world in their extremism. As with the cult of contradiction, idealism and artificiality were binding on Ruge by virtue of their reality as components of a class consciousness.

Ruge illustrates quite well both aspects of foregone and predetermined conclusions which characterize middle class consciousness. He was granted a "free choice" between two "alternative" viewpoints which really were the same. Moreover, his "free choice," in both its form of a contradiction and in its artificial and idealistic contents, was not itself freely chosen but class-imposed.

The factor of compulsion introduced by the class aspect of rebellion is clearly evident on the group level of the "heroes," as well as on the individual level. The cult of contradiction was evident in the antagonistic and extremist manner in which the members of the exile group interrelated. The cult of synthesis appeared in the energetic inertia of the group's "tavern organization." Idealism was visible in the fixation on symbols rather than substance which infected the exile reunions. The clearest manifestation of all three elements on a collective level is found in the exiles' culminating assembly. What began as a final effort to establish unity among the various factions turned into a housewarming for the disinherited. "To the accompaniment of shouts, drumming, crashes, threats and raging the edifying meeting went on until 2 a.m. when the landlord turned off the gas and so plunged the heated antagonists into darkness. This brought all plans to save the nation to an abrupt end."⁹⁹

But the three elements of rebellious consciousness were more than "also" present on a group level. They were primarily posited among the exiles as a group, above the individuals in which these

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 226.

elements were only replicated. That the cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism apply more to the group is suggested by the following actualities of the "heroes":

(i) All the individuals conformed prodigiously well to the three elements. Gustav Struve is an example. In his quest to be "outstanding," Gustav ran through a number of options. The extreme eccentricity of all of them, coupled with Gustav's implacability, imply that the objective of autism was a requirement. And the problem which Gustav had to overcome, "the greatly increased difficulties in distinguishing oneself these days," indicates that autism was a group requirement. The other members were striving to meet the same obligation.

(ii) The imposition of the three elements by the group on its members is also visible from the negative side. There was not a single case of an individual superseding any of the three elements. The limitation of the members to changes within--never of--autism, for example, demonstrates its position over and above them.

(iii) Finally, the fact that the group actually worked against the individuals comprising it--and did so successfully--shows that the whole was greater than the sum of its parts. The intentions of the individual members to achieve unity were constantly frustrated by the three elements operating on the group level. The element of the cult of contradiction, for example, revealed itself on a group level in the form of individual antagonisms.

The end result of the defeat of unity by the group was that unity was reduced to the condition of an ideal. Also, active inactivity was produced because of the lack of the necessary group unity for constructive initiative. And moreover, a contradiction emerged between the ideal of unity and its complete absence in practice. All of these repercussions are indicative in capsule form how the three elements of the exiles' rebellious consciousness were in fact group-imposed.

To summarize this second point, the dynamic elements of the cult

of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism pertained first to the exiles as a group rather than as individuals.

Third and finally, the class aspect of rebellious consciousness needs to be elaborated. As was noted, the exiles' group was only the most immediate location of the class-imposed nature of rebellion.

The consciousness of rebellion is ultimately reduced to the class which it represents. Therefore, the previous notes on the individual and group manifestations of rebellion are incomplete. The manifestations of rebellion in the exiles as individuals and as a group must be related to the consciousness of the middle class from which the "heroes" sprung. This relationship between the exiles and their class was the maturation and fruition of the elements of middle class consciousness in the exiles. The latter turn out to be the shadows and cold spots of their class photographed in an infrared light.

Marx outlined the consummation of middle class consciousness in the "heroes" in his discussion on Kinkel. After the 1848 uprising was crushed, the German middle class struck up a most peculiar relationship with Gottfried during his imprisonment by the Prussians:

It is well known that the German Philistine is endowed by Nature with a beautiful soul. Now he found his most cherished illusions cruelly shattered by the hard blows of the year 1849. Not a single hope had become reality and even the fast-beating hearts of young men began to despair about the fate of the fatherland. Every heart yielded to a lachrymose torpor and the need began to be felt for a democratic Christ, for a real or imagined Sufferer who in his torments would bear the sins of the Philistine world with the patience of a lamb and whose Passion would epitomise in extreme form the unrestrained but chronic self-pity of the whole of Philistinism. . . . And indeed, who better fitted for the task of enacting this great Passion Farce than our captive passion flower, Kinkel . . . , this sponge able to absorb endless floods

of sentimental tears, who was in addition preacher, professor of fine arts, deputy, political colporteur, musketeer, newly discovered poet and old impresario all rolled into one? Kinkel was the man of the moment and as such he was immediately accepted by the German Philistines. Every paper abounded in anecdotes, vignettes, poems, reminiscences of the captive poet, his sufferings in prison were magnified a thousandfold and took on mythical stature; at least once a month his hair was reported to have gone grey; in every bourgeois meeting-place and at every tea party he was remembered with grief; the daughters of the educated classes sighed over his poems and old maids who knew what unrequited passion is wept freely in various cities at the thought of his shattered manhood. All other profane victims of the revolutionary movement, . . . disappeared into naught beside this one sacrificial lamb. . . . For him alone did the rivers of tears flow, and indeed, he alone was able to respond to them in kind. . . . Kinkel never felt more at home in any role than in this one where he could seem great not because of what he did but because of what he did not do. He could seem great not by dint of his strength and his powers of resistance but through his weakness and spineless behaviour in a situation where his only task was to survive with decorum and sentiment. [Kinkel's wife] . . . caused all of Gottfried's published and unpublished works to be printed for they all suddenly became fashionable and were much in demand; she also found a market for her own life-experiences from the insect world, e.g., her Story of a Firefly; . . . she organized collections of every kind and in general she displayed undeniable talent and great perseverance in converting the feelings of the educated public into hard cash.¹⁰⁰

In the above events the consciousness of the German middle class went into full bloom. The three dynamic elements ripened and fell from their tree. The cult of contradiction solidified; beautiful principles finally culminated into the chiseling maneuvers of Kinkel's wife. Gottfried's self-infatuation was transformed into charisma; his

¹⁰⁰Ibid., pp. 164-5.

incapacity, into greatness.

Synthesis also matured. Autism crystalized into a call for the most outstanding of all outstanding individuals, a democratic Christ, and reached fulfillment in the location of Him in Gottfried Kinkel. Active inactivity climaxed into the tea party socialization of remorse; the glorification of the condition of Prussian imprisonment; and the publication of poems, memories, and Gottfried's "most secret diary feelings."¹⁰¹

Idealism condensed into a mythologizing of hair coloring and life in a cell.

In brief, then, the three dynamic elements are precedent in the overall class, rather than in the groups and individuals comprising the class. However, these elements lie in a state of incompleteness in their general class form. They are brought to life by their imposition on individuals and groups, such as the rebel "heroes," who become their very incarnation.

The general social and historical context surrounding the Kinkel case indicates a fundamental reality about middle class consciousness: nothing succeeds like failure in hurling the three dynamic elements to their peak. If failure is increasingly a way of life for the middle class under capitalist development, so, too, is rebellious consciousness--the consciousness which is generated by this failure. Kinkel and his exile friends consummated the consciousness of the German middle class in a period of crisis. They made manifest what hitherto had been latent, rendered explicit that which had been implicit. In this sense, the "heroes" were a hubcap on a whirlpool.

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The middle class "heroes" did not make the transition from rebellion to revolution. Some, such as Fickler, Heinzen and Struve,

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 165.

emigrated to the United States. Others, such as Ruge, Goegg and Faucher, later returned to Germany as members of political parties acceptable to the status quo.¹⁰²

In noting the tendency of critical-utopian socialism and communism to melt into bourgeois socialism (humanitarianism-philanthropy and Proudhonist synthesizing), Marx pointed to the path the "heroes" followed. The discussion of the exiles' cult of contradiction indicated the same development in different terms. Middle class rebellion exists initially only in contrast to its enemies. As this opposition increases, the cult of contradiction grows. As the opposition diminishes, the cult of contradiction turns into the cult of synthesis. The "heroes" ended up precisely where they began, except perhaps for a few grapes of wrath that had withered on the vine.

The petty bourgeois exiles were representatives of rebellion in its early historical period. Germany in their time experienced capitalist development only in its initial stage of combat with feudalism.¹⁰³ Therefore, the material decline of the middle class was still in an epoch of infancy.

Given the underdevelopment of the German proletariat, the "heroes" had no other immediate alternative but to return to the fold. Their final "destiny" was to be a second caboose on a train to nowhere.

But was there really no other alternative?

¹⁰²This and other biographical information on the "heroes" is from "Index of Names," in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, pp. 287-98.

¹⁰³Livingstone, "Introduction," The Cologne Communist Trial, pp. 13-14.

CHAPTER V
WILLICH, SCHAPPER, AND WILLICH

What is antiquated tries to re-establish itself and maintain its position within the newly acquired form.¹

The cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism: the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Their reincarnation confirms their repetition. And whenever The Holy Trinity becomes visible, the temperature drops. Perhaps, it is the cold dirt of a shallow grave.

As bourgeois society matures, its contradictions heighten. This general heightening is presented in a class form in the decline of the middle class into the proletariat. Since the middle class is the social basis for bourgeois society, the crisis of this class is the basic movement of that society as a whole. Rebellion, as the ideology created by this crisis, is the representation in consciousness of this basic movement. None of the manifestations of rebellion discussed in Chapter III, therefore, is exceptional or accidental. Their apparent fortuitousness was entirely predestined; their "freedom," completely arranged.

The epitomization of bourgeois society in rebellion, however, is confined within the limits of that society. The restriction in the way rebellion presents the culmination arises from the fact that the middle class is more in than of the capitalist world. The latter is the result of the production and valorization process of capitalism. In fact, the capitalist world is that process:

¹Karl Marx, "Marx to F. Bolte in New York (November 23, 1871)," in Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin, Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, International Publishers, New York, 1972, p. 55.

The worker, in fact, produces himself within the process, as labour power and as the capital that opposes him, just as, on the other side, the capitalist produces himself as capital, as well as the living labour power that opposes him. Each one reproduces himself in that at the same time he produces his opposite, his negation. The capitalist produces labour as something alien to itself; and labour produces its product, also as something alien. The capitalist produces the worker and the worker produces the capitalist, etc. . . .²

The middle class is "middle" by virtue of its location between the two opposing classes which create and recreate each other. The middle class changes in position by ceasing to be. It declines into the proletariat.

But the decline of the middle class occurs in cycles. The crises of a class finally turn into a class in crisis. Before the latter stage is reached, the former must appear. Again, it is precisely the earlier period of rehearsal which is of interest in this study.

The decline of the middle class is the rise of the proletariat at the same time. Just as the capitalist class cannot exist apart from the proletariat and vice-versa, the creation of the working class encompasses the destruction of the middle class. In the early stages of dissolution, the middle class and the proletariat undergo a confusing pattern of reverberations. What exists is basically a magnet which is sawed in half. The two poles do not come together right side up. Rather, attraction exists in opposition. Slowly, compelled by internal and external forces, the two halves turn around and become bonded. The force fields along each half can be measured.

Middle class rebellion is the product of these interrelationships. Eventually, the point of a lance will appear. In the

²Karl Marx, The Grundrisse, David McLellan, Editor, Harper and Row, New York, 1971, p. 105.

meantime, however, more arrows must be melted.

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The case study of rebellion involving August Willich and Karl Schapper is centered in The Communist League. Engels supplied the following background material.

Schapper was a leader of the League of the Just, a secret society founded in 1836. The political orientation of the Just was critical-utopian socialism and communism as expounded by Christian Weitling. Engels associated this doctrine with the middle class character of the membership:

the social doctrine of the League. . . contained a very great defect, but one that had its roots in the conditions themselves. The members, in so far as they were workers at all, were almost exclusively artisans. . . . On the one hand, the exploiter of these artisans was a small master; on the other hand, they all hoped ultimately to become small masters themselves. In addition, a mass of inherited guild notions still clung to the German artisan at that time. The greatest honour is due to them, in that they, who were themselves not yet full proletarians but only an appendage of the petty bourgeoisie, an appendage which was passing into the modern proletariat and which did not yet stand in direct opposition to the bourgeoisie, that is, to big capital--in that these artisans were capable of instinctively anticipating their future development and of constituting themselves, even if not yet with full consciousness, the party of the proletariat. But it was also inevitable that their old handicraft prejudices should be a stumbling block to them at every moment, whenever it was a question of. . . investigating economic facts.³

The center of the Just moved from Paris to London. Engels met

³Frederick Engels, "On The History of the Communist League," in Rodney Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, International Publishers, New York, 1971, pp. 39, 41, 43-4.

Schapper and other leaders of the Just in 1843. While he rejected "their narrow-minded equalitarian Communism," Engels remarked, "I shall never forget the deep impression that these. . .real men made upon me, who was then still only wanting to become a man."⁴

In the meantime, "a second, essentially different Communism was developing alongside that of the League and of Weitling." Marx was developing an approach which did not undertake "the concoction, by means of the imagination, of an ideal society as perfect as possible, but insight into the nature, the conditions and the consequent general aims of the struggle waged by the proletariat."⁵ Engels had arrived at the same view, and, "When I visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844, our complete agreement in all theoretical fields became evident and our joint work dates from that time."⁶

Marx and Engels did not join the Just. But they "kept up our continuous correspondence with the Londoners," and "remained on still closer terms" with the Just's leader in Paris.⁷

A "quiet revolution" began to occur among the Just's leadership in London. Weitling fell out with the leaders, and "went to America to try out his role of prophet there." The Londoners perceived the "inadequacy" of critical-utopianism. "The 'true Socialism'. . .that Kriege and the study of the corresponding literature introduced in the League was found soon to disgust the old revolutionists of the League. . . ."⁸

Gradually, "it was realised more and more in London that Marx and I were right in our new theory." In 1847, the Just contacted Marx and Engels: "What we previously objected to in this League was now relinquished as erroneous by the representatives. . .we were even invited to co-operate in the work of reorganisation. Could we say no? Certainly not. Therefore, we entered the League. . . ."⁹

⁴Ibid., pp. 41, 42.

⁵Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

⁶Ibid., p. 44.

⁷Ibid., p. 45.

⁸Ibid., pp. 46-7.

⁹Ibid., p. 47.

The first League congress was held in London in 1847. The "League was converted--for ordinary peace times at least--into a pure propaganda society." The old conspiratorial network was replaced by a public organization of "communities, circles, leading circles, a Central Committee and a Congress. . . ." The name was changed from League of the Just to the Communist League.¹⁰

The second League congress took place in November and December of 1847. Marx attended the congress and "expounded the new theory in a fairly long debate. . . .the new basic principles were unanimously adopted, and Marx and I were commissioned to draw up the [Communist] Manifesto."¹¹

In February of 1848, the period of European revolutions began. "As could easily be foreseen, the League proved to be much too weak a lever as against the popular mass movement that had now broken out." The members had lost contact during their period in exile with "their previous communities" which had dissolved. A lack of unity prevailed among the members who returned home: "each one began a small separate movement on his own account in his own locality." Engels summed up the problem by noting that "from the moment when the causes which had made the secret League necessary ceased to exist, the secret League as such ceased to mean anything."¹²

In June of 1849, the revolutionary epoch in Europe came to a close. The situation required secrecy and a "reorganisation of the scattered revolutionary forces. . . ." For this purpose in "the autumn of 1849 most of the members of the previous central committees and congresses gathered again in London." Schapper was unable to arrive until the spring of 1850. However, "[August] Willich now entered upon the scene. Willich was one of those sentimental Communists so. . .instinctively, furtively antagonistic to our critical tendency."¹³

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 47-8.

¹¹Ibid., p. 48.

¹²Ibid., pp. 47, 50, 51.

¹³Ibid., p. 52.

The "League was organised afresh"¹⁴ and contained Willich and Schapper, the middle class rebels, and Marx and Engels, the representatives of the proletarian revolution. The latter wasted no time in bringing out the differences between the two groups.

Marx and Engels issued an address to the League's Central Committee in March of 1850. They observed that due to the weak ties between the League and its local units in Germany, coupled with the superior organization of the petty bourgeois democrats, "the general [working class] movement thus came completely under the domination and leadership of the petty bourgeois democrats. An end must be put to this state of affairs, the independence of the workers must be restored."¹⁵

Marx and Engels assumed that "in the impending revolution" against the big bourgeoisie-feudal nobility alliance, the petty bourgeoisie would "for a moment obtain predominating influence in Germany. . . ." If the middle class was a present ally of the proletariat, it was also a future enemy. Marx and Engels formulated a general policy for the proletariat: "The relationship of the revolutionary workers' party to the petty bourgeois democrats is this: it marches together with them against the faction which it aims at overthrowing, it opposes them in everything whereby they seek to consolidate their position in their own interests."¹⁶

Marx and Engels then identified and contrasted the interests of the petty bourgeoisie with those of the proletariat. "For us the issue cannot be the alteration of private property but only its annihilation, not the smoothing over of class antagonisms but the abolition of classes, not the improvement of existing society but the foundations of a new one."¹⁷

A response from Willich and Schapper was not long in coming. An extraordinary meeting of the Central Committee was held on

¹⁴Ibid., p. 52.

¹⁵Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Address of The Central Committee to the Communist League, March, 1850," in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 237.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 239.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 240.

September 15, 1850. Willich and Schapper presented their case against Marx and Engels' policy position for the proletariat with respect to the petty bourgeoisie. Marx and Engels replied. A split occurred.

As in Chapter III, no illustrations from modern times will be offered here. In the contemporary world Willich/Schapperism is as omnipresent as a missing button.

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The Willich/Schapper group exhibited basically the same types of manifestations of rebellion as the "heroes." The close relationship which the former shared with the communist revolutionaries, however, suggests a deeper type of rebellion than was present in the "heroes."

With Willich/Schapper middle class rebellion bumped into the proletarian revolution. In the arguments which followed the class wall separating the two parties became manifest. This is why whenever Marx and Engels tried to send them a "message," the response was always the same: return to sender, address unknown.

The cult of contradiction

Antiintellectualism to total intellectualism. --Willich/Schapper argued that the Marxists were total intellectuals. According to Marx the Willich/Schapper group "declares all theoretical work to be over and done with; it adopts a hostile attitude to all intellectual activity and believes that it can realize the ultimate goal of the movement on the basis of actual conditions, and, above all, of a new German revolution."¹⁸

But were the communist revolutionaries solely engaged in theoretical work? Marx reiterated the revolutionary position stated

¹⁸"Address of The Cologne Central Committee to the Communist League, December 1, 1850," in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 255.

in The Communist Manifesto and the proletariat policy statement of 1850:

The proletarian movement will advance only by first becoming aware of its own class-situation and then by absorbing all the cultural elements of the old society from within this situation. In this way it will acquire a theoretical understanding of the movements of a communist revolution; while, in practice, it will act as developments dictate and seek to make use of the conflicts between the various national parties to seize political and economic power for itself.¹⁹

Marx's position, then, was that of theory and practice. The Willich/Schapper argument that the Marxists were only concerned with theory was incorrect. But their argument was more than a misstatement of reality. The Willich/Schapper charge that the Marxists were only intellectuals was itself total intellectualism. To declare that "all theoretical work" is "over and done with" is itself a theoretical position.

The logical process of Willich/Schapper can be broken down into the following stages: (1) deny the existing reality. Willich/Schapper "condemned" the theory and practice position of Marx noted above.²⁰ (2) Transform the denied reality into an extreme. Willich/Schapper changed "theory and practice" to "pure theory." (3) Finally, create the opposite extreme. Willich/Schapper adopted for themselves the contradiction to "pure theory"--"pure practice."

The above outline states in a capsule form the extremist thought process circulating throughout middle class ideology. The end result is that reality is subcontracted to death.

Revolution to reaction, violence to pacificism.--Willich/Schapper claimed to be the pure, complete and true representatives of the proletariat. But their call for immediate revolution by the working

¹⁹Ibid., p. 255.

²⁰Ibid., p. 255.

class was accompanied by the demand for political rule by the petty bourgeoisie. The latter demand was simply an open acknowledgment by Willich/Schapper of the implication of their position that the existing conditions and a German revolution were adequate for a working class revolution. Given this assumption it was

quite natural that these same people should appear to represent the proletariat to the exclusion of all else and yet that in their latest proclamation . . . they should have trumpeted forth the single concept "revolution" and posed as the champions of the petty-bourgeois social-democratic republic. In this programme, then, the proletariat is once again thrown back into its old unpolitical stance; once again it is summoned into battle to defend the interests of another class; and once again it would afterwards be cheated of the fruits of its victory.²¹

What Willich/Schapper claimed as an end, the proletarian revolution, was really a means. Later, they verbalized this basic position in proposing a social-democratic republic. In the meantime, however, their policy lay hidden under the "objective analysis" that conditions were ripe for a working class victory. Marx's discussion of this analysis amounts to a class intelligence defrocked.

The coexistence of complete violence and complete pacificism was dramatically revealed in the final meeting between Willich/Schapper and the Marxists. Schapper took the following stand:

The question at issue is whether we are to chop a few heads off right at the start or whether it is our own heads that will fall. In France the workers will come to power and when this happens the same thing will take place in Germany. Were this not the case I would indeed take to my bed; in that event I would certainly be able to enjoy a different material position [i.e., a higher

²¹Ibid., p. 255.

standard of living].²²

Here violence was manifest, pacificism was latent. Schapper certainly had not been hiding under the covers. But he was thinking about it.

High principles versus base practice.--When the split occurred, Schapper was magnanimous toward his opponents. "We shall meet again in Germany and perhaps join forces again. Marx is a personal friend of mine but you are in favour of separation--very well, we shall each go our separate ways."²³

Willich/Schapper then attempted to commandeer the League. First, they sent out a report claiming that the Marxists had been expelled from the Central Committee. Then Willich/Schapper's emissary appeared before the Central Committee. He "read out a rambling document" which

consisted partly of new personal attacks of the most malicious and senseless kind, partly of a defence of the principles they had already stated and, lastly, of the somewhat disingenuous claim that all their actions conformed to the requirements of the [League's] statutes.²⁴

The Willich/Schapper emissary next tried to have the Central Committee expel the Marxists--whereupon the Central Committee expelled Willich/Schapper for defying its decisions, breaking the League statutes regarding secrecy, and falsification of League reports.²⁵

The contradiction between principles and conduct appeared in an intellectualized form as the contradiction between theory and practice. Schapper thought he saw an opposition between theory and

²²"Minutes of The Meeting of The Central Committee of the Communist League of September 15, 1850," in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 252.

²³Ibid., p. 252.

²⁴"Address of The Cologne Central Committee," pp. 254, 256.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 256-7.

practice in the League's membership. "Just as in France the proletariat parted company with the 'Montagne' [i.e., the coalition of the proletariat and petty bourgeoisie]. . .so it is here also: the people who represent the party on the theoretical side have parted company from those who organise the proletariat."²⁶

But the Marxist members were not confined to theory as Schapper was suggesting (this has already been discussed). Moreover, the Montagne was not the theoretical representative of the working class; rather, the Montagne was the practical representative of the petty bourgeoisie who dominated it. In reality, Schapper's claim to be the representative of the proletariat in practice alone and his theoretical equation of Marx with the Montagne are only his own theory-practice opposition reflected upside down. His actual representation of the proletariat existed only in theory, and his actual practice was the representation of the petty bourgeoisie.*

Schapper's appraisal of the split was only the belief that the "ought" ought to be separated from the "is," or that the normative should be kept apart from the descriptive. This deep philosophical truth is really nothing more than a mystification of the fact that the "ought" for Schapper was indeed separated from the "is," "theory" was separate from "practice," and principles were actually separate from his conduct. Magically, his wish regarding the "ought" came true--after blowing out all the candles.

Summarizing Willich/Schapper's cult of contradiction, it can be said that their glorified oppositions had reached the breaking point: the "either-or" zenith. Marx observed this development and contrasted it with his own position regarding the central matter of revolution:

²⁶"Minutes," p. 252.

*Schapper's dilemma is a classic example of the general phenomenon noted by Marx and Engels: "If in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down as in a camera obscura, this phenomenon arises just as much from their historical life-process as the inversion of objects on the retina does from their physical life-process." Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 14.

What we say to the workers is: you have 15, 20, 50 years of civil war to go through in order to change society and to train yourselves for the exercise of political power, whereas they say, we must take over at once, or else we may as well take to our beds.²⁷

The "either-or" summit appeared in the other oppositions formed by Willich/Schapper: either total intellectualism or no intellectualism, either total violence or total pacificism, either complete theory or complete practice. The cult of contradiction was more developed in Willich/Schapper than the "heroes," for whom the cult had not yet peaked to "one or the other." The latter were still in the stage of "both" terms of the contradiction. If Willich/Schapper saw only Napoleon versus Plato, Gustav Struve "acted as both Caesar and Socrates."²⁸

The cult of synthesis

An artificial world "beneath" the bourgeoisie and proletariat is detectable in Schapper's projection of his own theory versus practice contradiction onto the League. His "theory" about Marxist theory was that Marxism was the ideology of the French Montagne. Schapper's "theory" turned out to be only his own practice revealed in theory: the representation of the petty bourgeoisie. Similarly, his charge that Marxism was pure theory was only Schapper's "theory" revealed in practice: a pure theory about a nonexistent pure theory, a critical criticism of an imaginary critical criticism.

Pure theory as representing the petty bourgeoisie: synthesis was exposed by turning right side up its inverted projection onto an opposition. Synthesis was discovered the same way it was created--the contradiction of contradiction.

Autism.--In the "heroes" individualism had its social manifestation in factionalism, or the destruction of their group's unity. In Willich/Schapper factionalism became a conscious enterprise.

²⁷"Minutes," p. 251.

²⁸Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Heroes of the Exile, in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 171.

In the final meeting of the Central Committee with Willich/Schapper, Marx took the position that the "unity of the League must at all cost be preserved." He proposed that Willich/Schapper form their own regional branch of the League in London, rather than leave the League and Central Committee altogether. Willich/Schapper rejected the proposal. They argued that "there should be two Leagues, one for those who work with the pen and one for those who work in other ways."²⁹

Both the Marxists and Willich/Schapper stuck to their positions. Marx argued that the League would be destroyed unless his proposal was adopted.³⁰ As has been noted, Willich/Schapper's position finally culminated into an "either-or" proposal--either Willich/Schapper or the Marxists. The latter won the battle but the League was destroyed shortly thereafter.

Willich/Schapper cast their divisionism onto the widest possible screen--the world. Marx observed in the final reunion that in their formal policy statement, "A German nationalist point of view was substituted for the universal outlook of the [Communist] 'Manifesto' and the patriotic feelings of the German artisans were pandered to."^{31*} International, national, regional, local--whatever

²⁹"Minutes," pp. 251, 252.

³⁰Ibid., p. 250.

^{31*}Ibid., p. 251. In 1870, these "patriotic feelings" were transformed into wartime hysteria, enabling the Prussian Government to invade France. Marx's account of the event relates autism to active inactivity on a national level: "the pious [Prussian King William] stood pledged before France and the world to a strictly defensive war. How to release him from his solemn pledge? The stage managers had to exhibit him as reluctantly yielding to the irresistible behest of the German nation. They at once gave the cue to the liberal German middle class, with its professors, its capitalists, its aldermen and its penmen. That middle class, which, in its struggles for civil liberty, had, from 1846 to 1870, been exhibiting an unexampled spectacle of irresolution, incapacity and cowardice, felt, of course, highly delighted to bestride the European scene as the roaring lion of German patriotism." Karl Marx, "Second Address of The General Council on The Franco-Prussian War, September 9, 1870," in Karl Marx and V. I. Lenin, Civil War in France: The Paris Commune, International Publishers, New York, 1969, p. 29.

the aggregate may be, the rebel always keeps an eye on the exit. This characteristic amounts to the treatment of all social contexts as a means, never as ends.

Perhaps the divisionism of Willich/Schapper was actually headed toward an eventual unity. After all, they did have the formation of another League in mind. The probable character of a Willich/Schapper League, however, was suggested in the final meeting with the Marxists: "Schapper made a general protest against us all: we are now completely separated. I have my own friends in Cologne and more will follow me than you."³² Instead of trying to make a formal structure friendly, Willich/Schapper preferred to seek a formal structure in friendship.

Just as Willich/Schapper's nationalism was "localism" mispronounced, so their would-be organization of personalities was really only a personal organization. That their divisionism did indeed have a "higher" form of unity was evident in the fact that their insubordination was entirely subordinate to the larger interests of the class they represented. This is why the reflections of themselves which they sought always appeared in a one-way mirror.

Active inactivity. --Schapper hinted that inertia might be a possible outcome in his either-or view of violence. Either the League was "to chop a few heads off right at the start" and the working class would be victorious--or, well, Schapper would take to his bed and "be able to enjoy a different material position."

Willich/Schapper translated active inactivity into the terms of formal political policy. Their position was that the only prerequisite for the realization of communism in Germany was the capture of political power by a coalition of factory workers and artisans.³³ Since the petty bourgeoisie would clearly dominate such a coalition, Willich/Schapper's position was in reality an

³²"Minutes," p. 253.

³³"Address of The Cologne Central Committee," p. 255.

advocation "that the proletarian party should return to the old policy of universal asceticism" and resurrect "its old unpolitical stance."³⁴ Marx then classified the Willich/Schapper position as critical-utopianism, and characterized the latter as a "negative attitude" that was "justified at the time of the first proletarian movements when it was a matter of being able to oppose to the various political and economic doctrines of bourgeois society the general principle of proletarian class struggle."³⁵

What at one time had been positive action, then, was negative inaction in the period of the League. Here, once again, Marx revealed inergetic inertia to be dependent for its existence upon the positive initiative of an opposition.

In summary, as in the "heroes" the cult of synthesis was both cause and affect of the cult of contradiction in Willich/Schapper. Synthesis was a cause to the extent that the either-or contradictions were only the final, artificial outcome of a previously contrived world. Synthesis was an affect insofar as neither the "either" nor the "or" came to pass in reality.

The either-or peak indicated that Willich/Schapper had developed more completely the cult of contradiction than the "heroes." For precisely the same reason, Willich/Schapper were also further advanced into synthesis.

The basic relationship between contradiction and synthesis is really not very complicated. It is the same as lighting up a cigarette while the old one is still burning.

Idealism

"Either-or," "now or never," "all or nothing"--these expressions all contain in a grammatical form the logical process created by the social reality of the rebel: a disjunction. As a living dissociation, it is inescapable that the resulting view of the world is always

³⁴Ibid., p. 255.

³⁵Ibid., p. 255.

from a glass-bottom boat.

Doctrinaireism.--Willich/Schapper denied that "Ideas" are real by demanding that the intellectuals should be removed from the League. But just as their picture of Marxism as pure theory was itself pure theory, so "activity" was transformed in their minds into another "Idea." The Willich/Schapper goal of thoughtless action was actually nothing more than the action of pure thought.

Willich/Schapper retained the credo that "Ideas" are real in the form of voluntarism, or the faith in a human "will" standing over and apart from material reality. Marx observed that in their arguments, "The materialist standpoint of the [Communist] 'Manifesto' has given way to idealism. The revolution is seen not as the product of realities of the situation but as the result of a mere effort of will."³⁶ The strength of Willich/Schapper's dissent to idealism with regard to ends was founded in their complete assent to idealism in terms of means.

Willich/Schapper differed from the "heroes" in claiming for themselves the proletarian reality of having "no ideals to realise."^{*} They were similar to the "heroes" in that realization itself turned out to be an "Idea." Willich/Schapper's fervent aspiration to realism testified to the fact that they had not obtained it.

³⁶"Minutes," p. 251.

*Marx later elaborated on this general perspective: "The working class did not expect miracles from the [Paris] Commune. They have no ready-made utopias to introduce par decret du peuple. . . . They have no ideals to realise, but to set free the elements of the new society with which old collapsing bourgeois society itself is pregnant. In the full consciousness of their historic mission, and with the heroic resolve to act up to it, the working class can afford to smile at the coarse invective of the gentlemen's gentlemen with the pen and inkhorn, and at the didactic patronage of well-wishing bourgeois-doctrinaires, pouring forth their ignorant platitudes and sectarian crotchets in the oracular tone of scientific infallibility." Karl Marx, "Address of The General Council of The International Working Men's Association on The Civil War in France, 1871," in The Civil War in France, pp. 61-2.

On the same account, their messianism was evidence of dogmatism in their antidogmatism.*

Obsession with symbols.--As has been noted, Willich/Schapper represented the proletariat in words, the middle class in deeds. Marx explained how Willich/Schapper "overcame" the discrepancy:

Just as the [petty bourgeois] Democrats abused the word "people" so now the word "proletariat" has been degraded to a mere phrase. To make this phrase effective it was necessary to describe the petty bourgeois as proletarians so that in practice it was the petty bourgeois and not the proletarians who were represented. The actual revolutionary process had to be replaced by revolutionary catchwords.³⁷

After "solving" in symbols a materially unresolvable problem, Willich/Schapper proceeded to imbue "the new class" with a miraculous "will" unfettered by material reality. The end product was a formula for revolution which required only that the "will" move from a condition of potentiality to actuality:

[Willich/Schapper] argued that the League was exclusively intended for factory workers and artisans and that if these groups only had the will they would be able to seize the reins of power as soon as revolution should break out again and so would be able to carry out the communist reorganisation of society without further ado.³⁸

Constructs such as the above disintegrate only on contact with material reality. Since they are based entirely on words, they

*Engels observed of Willich later, "he was entirely the prophet, convinced of his personal mission as the predestined liberator of the German proletariat and as such a direct claimant as much to political as to military dictatorship." "On The History of the Communist League," p. 52.

³⁷"Minutes," p. 251.

³⁸"Address of The Cologne Central Committee," pp. 254-5.

melt in the hand, not in the mind.

In The Communist Manifesto Marx noted the final outcome of formulaism. The recipes of critical-utopian socialism and communism terminate in bourgeois socialism, varying from it only in terms of fanaticism and superstition. This general tendency was visible in the "heroes," although in an unfinished form. The "heroes" merely completed a full circle. They arrived at bourgeois socialism because it was where they had started.

In Willich/Schapper the general tendency of formulaism worked through to its ultimate consequences. In them the "negative attitude" of critical-utopianism

was no longer directed at some version of bourgeois socialism: it excommunicated the authors of the "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 and of the "First Address of the Central Committee" of this year in which the policy of the party [regarding the relationship of the proletariat to the petty bourgeoisie] was set out in great detail. Indeed, it even condemned the "Manifesto" and the policy of the party itself.³⁹

If critical-utopianism in the past had existed only in terms of bourgeois socialism, i.e., as a counter-culture, with Willich/Schapper there was a change in orbits. Critical-utopianism now became a satellite orbiting around revolutionary communism. Critical-utopianism was "liberated" from its dependency on bourgeois socialism by making itself dependent on revolutionary communism.

In the end, the change in the object criticized was only a substitution of symbols. All of the "new development" wrought by Willich/Schapper took place within the formulaistic world of critical-utopianism. Thus, the "change" was not a supersession of critical-utopianism; rather, it was the consummation of critical-utopianism, as manifested in the reactionary outcome.

³⁹Ibid., p. 255.

The change in objects criticized meant that Willich/Schapper transformed in their own minds a scientific paradigm of revolution into a shibboleth. This is the upshot of rebellion at an early stage, when its primary activity is the frisking of revolution for a few verbs and nouns.

The real is an "Idea."--One of the ways in which the "heroes" converted reality into an "Idea" was by projecting elsewhere their sense-experience world. Projection was also observed in Willich/-Schapper, who cast their own reality of pure theory onto the Marxist opposition.

But there was a basic distinction between the two types of rebels. In the case of the "heroes," the reality projected was in fact common to them as a group. As a result if each failed to understand himself, at least he achieved a comprehension of the opposition upon whom the shared reality was projected. Willich/-Schapper and the Marxists, on the other hand, had no such mutual reality in that pure theory was restricted to the former. Therefore, Willich/Schapper gained no comprehension whatsoever from their projection. They were caught on the cloverleaf of their own misunderstanding.

Perhaps there was a locus in reality in Willich/Schapper's criticism of their own pure theory as projected onto the Marxists. Unfortunately, this criticism itself issued forth from another pure theory, i.e., that of an ideal "action" carried out by "will" power. Thus, the conversion of reality into an "Idea" was more fully developed in Willich/Schapper than in the "heroes." The latter turned concrete events into pure "Ideas," e.g., Arnold Ruge made German history into "humanism." Willich/Schapper turned into pure "Ideas". . . their own pure "Ideas": Unlike the "heroes," then, Willich/Schapper further mystified their own mystifications.

The tenet that reality is an "Idea" achieved its culmination in the ex post facto idealization of the realities which had been the objects of the initial idealization. Willich/Schapper's formula involved "action" emanating from a nonmaterial "will," a formula

which they held up "against" pure theory. All that occurred here, however, was that practice was idealized. Schapper's argument in the final meeting revealed this development quite clearly: "If we come to power we can take all the measures necessary to ensure the rule of the proletariat. I am a fanatical supporter of this point of view but the Central Committee favours the very opposite."⁴⁰ In short, Schapper contended that the end of his "pure action," a successful proletarian revolution, was the product of "pure will."

Schapper's claim to insuring a proletarian victory flew in the face of concrete conditions: the petty bourgeoisie was strong, the proletariat was weak. The essential factor here is the refusal of Willich/Schapper even to consider the actual conditions in Germany. Their neglect of reality was a logical outcome of a faith in the "idea" of reality: even if the historical situation was unfavorable, "action" and "proletarian revolution" would not be adversely affected because they were carried out by a "will" which was independent of that situation.

"Action" and "revolution" began as two, very concrete things. But then Willich/Schapper proceeded to associate them with a "will" standing over and against concrete reality. Thereafter, action and revolution functioned as idées fixes for Willich/Schapper. The same logical process appeared in the "heroes," such as the transformation by Gustav Struve of a newspaper and provisional government into idées fixes. But Struve's idealization was mainly with respect to form. Willich/Schapper's idealization went from form into the actual contents.

Willich/Schapper, then, moved from revolution to an idealization of revolution in the form of pure theory, which they projected onto Marx. The next step was the idealization of the "original" revolution as the product of "action" by a mysterious "will." Willich/Schapper first stood reality on its head. Then, they distorted the

⁴⁰"Minutes," p. 252.

initial reality. In the end, Willich/Schapper reduced the material world to a dream within a dream. This meant that even in their sleep they lied to themselves.

The cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism were more developed in Willich/Schapper than in the "heroes." At the same time, however, the specific manifestations of rebellion were more subtle in Willich/Schapper. Their consciousness of rebellion involved the difference between intentions and consequences, rather than intentions alone as was basically the case with the "heroes." Willich/Schapper, for example, called for immediate revolution with the intention of securing power for the proletariat. But the conditions prevailing in Germany at the time made the consequences of immediate revolution the rule by the middle class, not rule by the proletariat. For the "heroes," on the other hand, no such intentions-consequences contradiction existed in that they never intended to secure control by the working class. The "heroes" played the part of Nero's fiddle. Willich/Schapper were a Paul Revere who could not see the signal.

As has been mentioned, immediately following the split Willich/Schapper issued a program calling for a "petty-bourgeois social-democracy." Thus, their latent representation of the middle class finally became manifest in a theoretical form. Thereafter, this representation rapidly became overt in their practice. Willich/Schapper's manifestations of rebellion were stripped of their former subtlety.

Political events in Germany served to bring Willich/Schapper's ideology to a fast boil. One month prior to the 1850 Address of The Cologne Central Committee which expelled Willich/Schapper, Gottfried Kinkel escaped from imprisonment by the Prussians. King Frederick William IV wished to consolidate his victory of July of 1849, over the workers, liberal bourgeoisie, and petty bourgeois radicals.

In order to climax the defeat of the revolution, the King decided to "regale the Prussian public with the long and justly

awaited spectacle of the discovery and (above all) the punishment of a plot. . . ."⁴¹ Using Kinkel's escape as a pretext, King Frederick set in motion the wheels of reaction to conjure up a showcase political trial.

Six months passed until the Prussian Government's search for a conspiracy came to fruition. An emissary from the communists in Cologne fell into a police net. After another year and a half of searching for evidence, the "long and justly awaited spectacle" finally took place from October to November of 1852. It became known as The Cologne Communist Trial.⁴²

Marx wrote an essay while the "spectacle" was occurring--Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne. He reiterated the League position that the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie would topple the "semi-feudal" governments in Germany. Later, when the material conditions had developed, the proletariat would overthrow the bourgeoisie:

The "Communist League", therefore, was no conspiratorial society, but a society which secretly strove to create an organised proletarian party because the German proletariat is publicly debarred, igni et aqua, from writing, meeting and speaking. Such a society can only be said to conspire against the status quo in the sense that steam and electricity conspire against it.⁴³

The Prussian Government failed to find any evidence of a League conspiracy because there was no conspiracy to find. To overcome this dilemma the government acted as though no split had taken place between the League and Willich/Schapper, although it in fact knew otherwise.⁴⁴ The government then prosecuted Marx's

⁴¹Rodney Livingstone, "Introduction," The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 18.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 17-22.

⁴³Karl Marx, Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial in Cologne, in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 108.

⁴⁴Ibid., pp. 65, 81.

League for the schemes of the separate League founded by Willich/Schapper after the split in 1850. Marx summed up the situation by noting that the government "was afflicted by a singular misfortune. It sought to find the offence called Marx and found instead the offence called [Willich/Schapper]. It went in search of the communism propagated by the defendants and found the communism they combated [i.e., critical-utopianism]."⁴⁵

Unlike Marx's League, information on Willich/Schapper's group was readily available to the government. Their separate League was infested with police spies; moreover, and more important, they actually cooperated with the Prussian Government. "That the [Willich/Schapper] Party has made common cause with the Prussian police is apparent not only in their silence but also in their utterances: whenever they enter the trial it is not in the dock with the accused, but as witnesses for the Crown."⁴⁶

At the time of the split Willich/Schapper carried within themselves the contradiction between revolution and reaction. Reaction, however, was present in a latent form. The Cologne Communist Trial broke the wishbone. Revolution was the shorter end.

Chapter II indicated how the cult of contradiction grows as the opposition of middle class rebellion to a status quo increases. The cult of contradiction develops into the cult of synthesis as the rebellion-status quo opposition decreases. The period of the trial was indeed one of synthesis for Willich/Schapper. Their rebellion turned against the remnants of the 1848 revolution and the proletarian revolution represented by Marx's League. When the whole affair was building up Marx received a letter from a future defendant who described Willich's state of mind:

Willich writes me the funniest letters; I do not reply, but this does not prevent him from describing his latest plans for a revolution.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 109.

He has appointed me to subvert the Cologne garrison!!! We laughed till the tears came. His idiocy will spell disaster for countless people yet; for a single letter would suffice to guarantee the salaries of a hundred "Demagogue judges" for three years at least. As soon as I have completed the revolution in Cologne he would have no objection to assuming the leadership for all subsequent operations. Very kind of him! 47

The "heroes" demonstrated how the synthetic factors of autism and active inactivity are sustained by their opposites (organization and initiative) in the forces of reaction. The letter cited above indicated the same synthetic actuality in Willich, who actively destroyed the revolution while simultaneously strengthening the reaction. Once again, Willich/Schapper's rebellion was further developed than that of the "heroes."

As the Willich/Schapper group paraded before the Cologne defendants, Marx commented on their extremist thought process and obsession with symbols:

The Willich-Schapper Party have never laid claim to the dignity of having developed their own ideas. What is typical of them is the peculiar misunderstanding of other people's ideas which they transform into dogmas and, reducing these to a phrase, they fondly imagine they possess them. It would be no less misguided to agree with the prosecution in describing the Willich-Schapper Party as the Party of Action, unless by action one understands inaction concealed behind beerhouse bluster, simulated conspiracies and meaningless pseudo-alliances. 48

Willich/Schapper's cooperation with the police was simply the maturation of their latent position held during their coalition with the Marxists. After all, Schapper had declared in the last meeting

47Ibid., p. 112.

48Ibid., p. 63.

with Marx that it was "either their heads or ours." He had even "promised to lose his own head in a year. . . ."49 The latter statement was truly ominous; for if Schapper was always talking about himself when he was referring to Marx, we know who he really had in mind when he was speaking of himself.

The cult of contradiction, the cult of synthesis, and idealism were consummated at the Cologne trial. Rebellion left Willich/-Schapper with the role of playing roles. The result was parts without a plot. At this point Willich/Schapper and the "heroes" were identical in their occupation of subverting subversion. The two groups were virtually indistinguishable except for the symbols "proletarian revolution" appearing on the lips of Willich/Schapper.

Such fundamental similarities could not go unnoticed by both groups. Marx commented on how the rebellious attributes of Willich/Schapper propelled them toward the "heroes";

It is self-evident that a secret society which strives to form not the government of the future but the opposition party could have but few attractions for individuals who on the one hand concealed their personal insignificance by strutting around in the theatrical cloak of the conspirator, and on the other wished to satisfy their stupid ambition on the day of the next revolution, and who wished above all to seem important at the moment, to snatch their share of the fruits of demagogy and to find a welcome among the quacks and charlatans of democracy.

Thus a splinter broke off from the Communist League, or rather it was broken off, a group that demanded, if not real conspiracies, at any rate the appearance of conspiracies, and accordingly favoured an alliance with the democratic heroes of the hour; this was the Willich-Schapper party.⁵⁰

Willich was invited into the "heroes'" European Emigration

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 63.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 108.

Club as the official representative of the Communist League⁵¹ the organization which had expelled him. He joined the Kinkel faction which began to resemble the French Montagne in its potpourri of political positions. "The roles were distributed as follows: Kinkel playing a passion-flower represented the German Philistines in general; Reichenbach playing a Count represented the bourgeoisie; Willich, playing Willich represented the proletariat."⁵²

Membership in the Kinkel faction permitted Willich to expand his synthetic policy of weakening the opposition to the Prussian Government. He participated in Kinkel's loan scheme to divide and conquer the "heroes" Club by becoming the sole perveyor of funds from the United States. Intrinsic to the loan scheme was the undermining of all other Club initiative:

[Kinkel and his friends] reasoned: once we have the money we shall have the Emigration [Club]; once we have the Emigration we shall also have the government in Germany. Their aim, therefore, was to occupy the whole Emigration with formal meetings but to undermine any attempt at setting up an official society that went beyond a "loose organisation" and above all to undermine all proposals to form committees. This would delay the enemy faction, block their activities and enable them to manoeuvre behind their backs.⁵³

When put into operation, Kinkel and Willich's strategy for synthesis achieved total success. By generating the eruption of more spats among the "heroes," it rendered the Club to be a total failure.

If the "heroes" and the Willich/Schapper group helped destroy the revolutionary movement, Willich and Kinkel worked to destroy the destroyers. What remained in the end was an assortment of Godots for whom no one was waiting.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 62.

⁵²Marx and Engels, Heroes of the Exile, p. 216.

⁵³Ibid., pp. 220-1.

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Rebellion is largely a night-blooming cereus. Not until the Communist League was in serious difficulties and the European revolutions reduced to a cool coal did Willich/Schapper's consciousness fully unfold.

Yet what was found at the end was also present in the beginning. The rebellious ideology displayed by Willich had already openly manifested itself prior to his entrance into the Communist League. Marx's discussion of this previous appearance focused on the role played by Willich during the 1848 German Revolution: the "partisan leader."

The cult of contradiction

The entire social basis of the partisan leader and his corps is one big contradiction--between themselves and other military organizations as well as civilian society as a whole. Marx noted that "such a corps and such a leader inevitably feel degraded by contact with ordinary profane soldiers and they will make every effort either to keep at a distance from the army or else to shake off the society of the uncircumcised."⁵⁴

Total intellectualism to total antiintellectualism.--If peace should overtake the partisan leader, he endeavors to preserve his counterexistence by rendering the profane profound. "The consecration in the service of an ideal must not be lacking and it is provided by a barracks-communism that ascribes a higher significance to the custom of holding ordinary civic actions in contempt."⁵⁵

Total subordination to total insubordination.--Discipline comes and goes like a tumbleweed. The partisan leader's "men owe their allegiance only to him, but he is likewise wholly dependent on them. For this reason the discipline in a free corps is somewhat

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 217.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 218.

arbitrary; according to circumstances it may be savagely strict, but mostly it is extremely lax."⁵⁶

Total violence to total pacificism. --The partisan leader has his own version of Kant's categorical imperative: either one should be successful or one should be a failure:

The strength of a corps can only be enhanced if all the warriors are made to swear an oath that they will not survive the destruction of the cause for which they are fighting and would prefer to be massacred to the last man beneath the apple tree on the frontier while singing a hymn.⁵⁷

Total revolution to total reaction. --This contradiction was covered in the above quotation. Intimated therein is the belief that in the end the only good revolutionary is a dead one.

High principles over base conduct. --This contradiction is the storm which gives rise to the partisan leader's flash floods of rectitude and remorse;

If he is not noble he must at least have a noble consciousness to be complemented as always by cunning, the talent for intrigue and a covert practical baseness. . . . Petty intrigues, sordid hole-and-corner activities, the occasional lie, morally outraged perfidy will be the natural symptoms of the noble consciousness. His faith in his mission and in the higher meaning of his words and deeds will induce him to declare emphatically: "I never lie!"⁵⁸

The entire extremist thought process behind the cult of contradiction is acted out by creating an absolute enemy. The partisan leader adopts extreme measures to defend himself against the all-pervasive opposition;

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 216.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 217.

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 216, 219.

As he must needs have an enemy and as the noble man is necessarily opposed by the ignoble ones he discovers in them a raging hostility towards himself, he imagines that they hate him merely because of his well-deserved popularity and would gladly poison him or stab him. With this in mind he resolves always to conceal a long gagger beneath his pillow.⁵⁹

The cult of synthesis

Autism.--The partisan leader cooperates with his class by not cooperating with the other insurgents. "The partisan leader, accustomed to act on his own initiative, is reluctant to subordinate himself to a more general command."⁶⁰ The general problem of discipline within his own corps stems in part from the leader's in-subordination to society as a whole.

Autism also appears in the compulsion of the partisan leader to behave like a tourist in social aggregates other than his own group. Resolute individualism is a key factor in the definition of "partisan": "In politics the partisan leader will display his superiority in all matters of tactics. In conformity with the notion of a partisan he will go from one party to the next."⁶¹

Just as the leader must be "outstanding" in relating to outsiders, he also has to be a remarkable man with respect to his own corps. It should be hardly surprising, therefore, that he is frequently caught with dew on his beard:

He must not allow his men to drink him under the table and so he must only drink in solitude, for instance at night in bed. If it should happen to him, as it might to any fallible human being, that he find himself returning to barracks late at night after inordinate indulgence in the pleasures of this life, he will take care not to enter through the main gate, but to go round the side and climb over the wall to avoid giving offence.⁶²

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 218.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 216.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 219.

⁶²Ibid., p. 217.

The compulsion of the individualist to be the exception to all exceptions is not without its religious manifestations:

A German Philistine who once caught sight of ex-Lieutenant Willich in a London pub snatched up his hat and fled exclaiming: 'My God, he looks just like Jesus Christ!' In order to increase the similarity Willich became a carpenter for a while before the Revolution. Later on he emerged as a partisan leader in the campaign in Baden and the Palatinate.⁶³

Active inactivity.--Pseudoaction has already been observed in the partisan leader's "petty intrigues" and "sordid hole-and-corner activities." The same phenomenon also appeared in the "or" of the partisan leader's categorical imperative: to perish under "the apple tree on the frontier while singing a hymn."

The quest for tranquility runs into trouble in times of peace; for it is precisely during such periods that a state of rest is most easily obtainable. Since the group has nothing constructive to do, the partisan leader proceeds to construct the group: "Above all else he must preserve the core of the regiment for later on and hence keep his recruiting officers in a state of constant activity."⁶⁴ The partisan leader moves all over the room--to find a place to sit down: "The talent for requisitioning and obtaining free quarters appears again in the form of a cosy parasitism."⁶⁵

Needless to say, the leader's inertia is totally dependent upon the vigor of others. The core of the regiment "is put into barracks either at government expense. . . or by some other means."⁶⁶

Idealism

"Ideas" are real.--Marx noted that the characteristics of

⁶³Ibid., p. 216.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 218.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 218.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 218.

contradiction and synthesis were not enough to hold the corps together:

What is needed in addition is a higher ideal. The partisan leader must therefore have a nucleus of idées fixes, he must be a man of principle in permanent pursuit of his mission to redeem the world. By means of sermons at the front and sustained didactic propaganda he must impart a consciousness of this higher ideal to every man individually and in this way he will transform the whole troop into sons within the faith. If this higher ideal is tinged with philosophy or mysticism or anything that surpasses normal understanding, if it is something Hegelian by nature. . . , then so much the better.⁶⁷

Dogmatism, messianism, formulaism, and an obsession with symbols gravitated around the theme of revolution. Here the partisan leader's faith that "Ideas" are real is all-consuming:

Even in peacetime the partisan does not lose his indispensable assurance and just as in wartime every setback spurred him on to proclaim victory on the morrow, so now he is for ever [sic] expounding on the moral certainty and the philosophical inevitability with which "it" will start to happen within the next fortnight.⁶⁸

Reality is an "Idea."--As has been mentioned, the partisan leader is devoid of meaningful experiences with any social aggregate other than his own corps. As a result his eyes are shut by the safety pin of his own self-deception:

Just as the partisan leader in war will never succeed unless he assumes that the population reveres him, likewise in peace he will not

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 216-7.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 218.

indeed manage to form any lasting political groupings but he will constantly suppose them to exist and from this all sorts of strange mystifications can arise.⁶⁹

The social basis of the regiment is people who are becoming or who already are disjunctions. The members of the corps "either come from the Lumpenproletariat or are soon assimilated into it."⁷⁰ Marx identified the petty bourgeoisie as the class from which the declassed constituents are derived. "If there is an artisans' club anywhere in the vicinity it can be employed as a recruiting base and the artisans are given the prospect of a jolly life full of adventures in exchange for the oppressive work of the present."⁷¹

The entire complexion of the partisan leader's group is colored by the tint of guild production. For example, his corps is built around personalized rather than standardized relations. "In both the barracks and the [artisans'] club the sermonising and the patriarchal and gossipy style of personal relations will not fail to impress."⁷² Also, the proletariat is reduced to a means, rather than an end: "By pointing to the higher ethical significance of the barracks for the future of the proletariat, it is even possible to induce the club to make financial contributions."⁷³

Given the isolation of the guilds with respect to society as a whole, the "higher ethical significance" and the "financial contributions" will necessarily be insufficient for victory. What happens then is that the "significance" and "contributions" turn into another contradiction:

As this communist barracks is no longer subject to the articles of war, but only to the moral authority and the dictates of self-

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 218.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 216.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 218.

⁷²Ibid., p. 218.

⁷³Ibid., p. 218.

sacrifice, it is inevitable that quarrels should break out over the communal funds. From these disputes moral authority does not always emerge unscathed.⁷⁴

In general, then, Willich openly manifested the ideology of rebellion during the 1848 German Revolution. Later, in the epoch of association with the Emigration Club of the "heroes," rebellion in Willich again appeared in an overt manner. In the interim period in which Willich was an opponent of Marx in the Communist League, rebellious consciousness existed in a covert condition.

The change in types of appearances--from manifest to latent and back to manifest--in which rebellion showed itself can be traced to the class or classes represented by the respective groups of which Willich was a member. Thus, rebellion was manifest during Willich's days as a partisan leader because he represented an afflicted petty bourgeoisie and lumpenproletariat. In the next group, the Communist League, the situation was different. The representation of the petty bourgeoisie versus the representation of the proletariat became an issue. Because the latter policy was predominate, rebellion could only survive in a covert fashion. Eventually, it was forced out of the League altogether. In the period of alliance with the "heroes," the group once again represented the petty bourgeoisie class. Willich's consciousness of rebellion, therefore, could return to a manifest condition.

Behind these changes in the appearance of rebellion is the fundamental reality that Willich did not find what he was looking for in the "heroes." Rather, he was looking for what he had already found as a partisan leader. Willich did not know what he wanted in moving from Marx to Kinkel. Instead, he wanted what he knew from the experience with his regiment. In the earlier years with the free corps, Willich's potentiality was the same as his actuality. Later, during his alliance with the "heroes," his actuality

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 218.

was the same as his potentiality. Willich "was" not what he had become; rather, he "became" what he already was. This is the strange Odyssey of the middle class, taking place in its entirety without really going anywhere.

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The manifestations of rebellious consciousness were the same in the "heroes" as for Willich/Schapper. The basic difference between the two groups was that rebellion was further developed in Willich/Schapper. When the latter returned to the fold, they came down hard with both feet.

Yet the saga of Willich/Schapper did not end with the Cologne trial. Marx added an important postscript to his essay on the Cologne affair in 1875:

The violent suppression of a revolution leaves a powerful imprint upon the minds of those involved, especially if they are torn away from their homes and cast into exile. So that even people with steady personalities may lose their heads for a longer or shorter period. They can no longer keep pace with the march of events. They refuse to admit that history has changed direction. Hence that playing around with conspiracies and revolutions which compromises the cause they are serving no less than themselves; hence, too, the errors of Willich and Schapper. Willich has shown in the American Civil War that he is something more than a visionary [sic] and Schapper who had been a lifelong champion of the workers' movement saw and admitted his momentary aberration soon after the Cologne trial. On his deathbed many years later he spoke to me with cutting irony of the folly of the émigrés. . . at that time.⁷⁵

Rebellion moved through the night of victory into the dawn of

⁷⁵Karl Marx, "Postscript to The Revelations Concerning the Communist Trial 1875," in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, pp. 131-2.

defeat. Precisely because their rebellion was deeper than that of the "heroes," Willich/Schapper were closer to revolution. Due to their greater proximity, more static electricity snapped in the air. A string of broken lanterns covered their learning tree.

Willich/Schapper wanted more stew. Therefore, they moved away from Marx and the Communist League. Instead of acquiring a larger pot, they ended up with a smaller bowl.

CHAPTER VI
THE BAKUNINISTS: REBELLION IN THE REVOLUTION¹

Here indeed we have revolutionary revolutionism!¹

It is impossible to be disillusioned without an illusion in the first place. And that is the dilemma of middle class rebellion. If the prefix "re" expresses the world of reconciliation, "dis" denotes the ambit of rebellion. The middle class rebel becomes disenchanted and disillusioned--"dis" this and "dis" that. But it would be incorrect to suppose that rebellion thereby takes care of the initial problem. The dissolution of the social solution of the middle class only gives rise to the belief in disbelief, the approval of disapproval.

There is a thermal under rebellion's soar: the pit and the pendulum. To this it must be added: inside a rubber palace.

Like the "heroes," Willich/Schapper received a call from history. It told them, "one moment, please," and they were on "hold" for the rest of their lives. Yet later events hint that at least Willich/Schapper went home at night and wondered. Eventually, they even rapped on the windowpane of their own discontent.

In the meantime, however, Willich/Schapper were in the initial stage of rebellion's development. Turn them over, and reconciliation appears. As Marx noted in the final meeting with Willich/Schapper, "these people are still communists in their own view even though the opinions they are now expressing are anti-communist and could at best

¹Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Report and Documents Published by Decision of The Hague Congress of The International," in Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin, Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, International Publishers, New York, 1972, p. 108.

be described as social-democratic."² Thus, Willich/Schapper had entered only the upper atmosphere of revolution. They emitted a crescent heatwave. In the wake, splashes of sparks clapped.

The initial dependency of rebellion on reconciliation is easily revealed. Rebellion exists in diametrical opposition to reconciliation. "If you're not with us, you're against us," exclaims the rebel. What is this but the inversion of the reconciler's dictum: "If you're not against us, you're with us."

Rebellion begins as reconciliation turned upside down. It moves forward to an inversion of revolution. This means that rebellion does not enter the gravity of revolution headfirst. Rather, it descends with the mischievous feet of contradiction. Just when it is the opposite of revolution, rebellion is closest to revolution.

Middle class rebels, then, approach revolution in a negative trajectory. They are on their way to becoming revolution's null hypothesis personified.

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Michael Bakunin rejected the life of a Russian aristocrat. Essentially an idealist, he left his country in order to acquire a German education. Bakunin arrived in Berlin in 1840, and became associated with Arnold Ruge, the "Young Hegelian" discussed in Chapter IV. Shortly thereafter, Bakunin became acquainted with Weitling during a sojourn to Switzerland. Between 1844 and 1847, he lived in Paris and met Marx, Engels, and Proudhon. Bakunin's personal and intellectual ties were closest with the latter.³

In 1848, Bakunin participated in the German revolution. He was captured and imprisoned. The Russian Government, aware of his

²"Minutes of the Meeting of The Central Committee of the Communist League of September 15, 1850," in Rodney Livingstone, Editor, The Cologne Communist Trial, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 251.

³E.H. Carr, Michael Bakunin, Macmillan and Co., London, 1937, pp. 125-31.

relationships with European radicals and communists, requested the extradition of Bakunin. The German Government returned him to his homeland where Bakunin spent eight years in prison and subsequently four years in Siberia.⁴

In 1861, he was released from exile. By way of the Orient and the United States, Bakunin made his way to London and then Italy in 1863.⁵

In September of 1868, the pacifist League of Peace and Freedom held a Congress in Bern, Switzerland. Bakunin attended with the aspiration of persuading the members away from bourgeois socialism. He called for "the destruction of all States and the foundation on their ruins of a world federation of free productive associations of all countries." Bakunin also called upon the Congress to adopt a policy of "the economic and social equalisation of classes and individuals. . . ."⁶

The Congress rejected his program. Bakunin walked out and formed his own organization--the Alliance of Socialist Democracy. Within the Alliance Bakunin set up a secret center of control known as the Fraternité Internationale.⁷

In the meantime another organization existed parallel to both the League of Peace and Freedom and Bakunin's Alliance. Marx and Engels were deeply involved in the London-based International Working Men's Association founded in 1864.

Bakunin turned his eyes toward the First International. He remarked with regard to the League of Peace and Freedom, "The tool had been tried, it had been found unsuitable, it had to be thrown away; it only remained to seek another."⁸ Two months after the League Congress, Bakunin applied for membership in the First

⁴K. J. Kenfick, "Life of Bakunin," in Marxism, Freedom and the State by Michael Bakunin, K. J. Kenfick, Editor, Freedom Press, London, (undated), pp. 10-11.

⁵Max Nettlan, "Mikhail Bakunin: A Biographical Sketch," in G. P. Maximoff, Editor, The Political Philosophy of Bakunin, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1953, p. 44.

⁶Carr, Michael Bakunin, pp. 343, 345.

⁷Nettlan, "Mikhail Bakunin: A Biographical Sketch," p. 45.

⁸Carr, Michael Bakunin, p. 344.

International. In March of 1869, the International informed him that entrance would require the "transformation of the sections of the Alliance into sections of the International Working Men's Association."⁹ Bakunin agreed to break up the Alliance, and he and his followers were granted admission.

The conditions for membership, however, "were never properly fulfilled" by Bakunin.¹⁰ He endeavored to turn the International into a means for making his Alliance the "aristocracy. . . of the workers' movement."¹¹ Bakunin's conspiracies culminated in his expulsion from the International at the Hague Congress in 1872. The International was severely crippled, and disbanded four years later.

Marx once described Bakunin's theory as "a hash superficially scraped together from the Right and from the Left. . . ."¹² Engels presented the same conclusion in more formal terms:

Bakunin has a peculiar theory of his own, a medley of Proudhonism and communism. The chief point concerning the former is that he does not regard capital, i.e., the class antagonism between capitalists and wage workers which has arisen through social development, but the state as the main evil to be abolished.^{13*}

⁹Frederick Engels, "Engels to C. Cafiero in Barletta, July 1[-3], 1871," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 49.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 49.

¹¹Carr, Michael Bakunin, p. 345.

¹²Karl Marx, "Marx to F. Bolte in New York, November 23, 1871," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 56.

^{13*}Frederick Engels, "Engels to T. Cuno in Milan, January 24, 1872," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 69. Proudhonist synthesizing continued to develop after The Poverty of Philosophy was published. Proudhon brushed aside Marx's criticism as "merely an expression of jealousy." During the 1848 Revolution in France, Proudhon had the "avowed intention of conciliating masters and workers." He was elected to the Paris Assembly in June of 1848, and proceeded to anger his former political allies. Their wrath, coupled with that of both the Right and Left, helped move Proudhon "towards his natural goal, anarchy."

The "natural goal" became manifest after Bonaparte's coup. Proudhon concluded that all governments were evil, and that they

The difference between the Bakuninists and the Marxists regarding capitalism and the state is truly fundamental. It illustrates an important dimension of Bakuninist rebellion with regard to revolutionary communism. Engels continued:

Bakunin maintains that it is the state which has created capital. . . .As, therefore, the state is the chief evil, it is above all the state which must be done away with and then capitalism will go to blazes of itself. We, on the contrary, say: Do away with capital. . . and the state will fall of itself. The difference is an essential one: Without a previous social revolution the abolition of the state is nonsense; the abolition of capital is precisely the social revolution. . . .Now then, inasmuch as to Bakunin the state is the main evil, nothing must be done which can keep the state. . . alive. Hence complete abstention from all politics. To commit a political act, especially to take part in an election, would be a betrayal of principle.¹⁴

What is an end for the Marxists turns out to be a means for anarchists. Rather consistently, Bakunin's Alliance "proclaims anarchy in the proletarian ranks as the surest means of breaking the powerful concentration of social and political forces in the hands of the exploiters."¹⁵

In brief, then, in a very significant area the Bakuninists had advanced to the point where they were Karl Marx standing on his head. As Engels succinctly remarked, "The Anarchists reverse the matter."¹⁶ The upside down picture, however, showed that the

should "commit suicide gracefully." Along with morality and an alliance with the bourgeoisie, Proudhon preached political abstention to the workers. In the meantime he also advocated federalism and local autonomy, and courted Bonaparte whom he had denounced before the coup occurred. D. W. Brogan, Proudhon, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1934, pp. 45, 49, 54-5, 56, 58, 59, 63-4, 66-7, 81, 82.

It was the later, anarchist Proudhon to whom Marx and Engels were referring in their discussion of Bakunin as a Proudhonist.

¹⁴"Engels to Cuno," pp. 69-70.

¹⁵Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Fictitious Splits in The International," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 74.

¹⁶Frederick Engels, "On the Occasion of Karl Marx's Death," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 172.

lens of the middle class still had not been shattered.

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Reconciler, rebel, and revolutionary: that was the Alliance. But unlike Eve the three faces of Michael "came out" simultaneously, and the first and second never died. The distorted head that resulted was "revolutionary revolutionism." It stood and stared at its own cave painting of communism.

The triumvirate of the Alliance is the trilogy of anarchy in general.

The cult of contradiction

Antiintellectualism to total intellectualism.--In the "heroes" these two opposites coexisted side by side. Willich/Schapper arrived at the "either-or" summit, and selected antiintellectualism for themselves. Bakunin represented a new phase: "He--a man devoid of all theoretical knowledge--laid claim to representing in [the Alliance] the scientific propaganda of the International. . . ."17

Bakunin thus was aware of what the Marxists knew. The only way out of the antiintellectualism-total intellectualism quandary is science--not "both," not "either-or," but "neither." Bakunin had a revolutionary word. The problem was in how he understood "science."

Bakunin's science was definitely not the science developed in bourgeois society. He instructed students in Russia to

abandon with all speed this world doomed to
destruction. Leave its universities, its
academies, its schools and go among the people
. . . Do not bother at this moment with
learning, in the name of which they would bind

17"Marx to Bolte," p. 56.

you, castrate you. . . Such is the belief of the finest people in the West. . . ,¹⁸

Bakunin, then, did not stop at rejecting university science. He went on to place himself in opposition to it. Marx and Engels concluded from Bakunin's remark just cited that he was preaching the "cult of ignorance to young Russians under the pretext that modern science is merely official science (can one imagine an official mathematics, physics or chemistry?), and that this is the opinion of the finest people in the West."¹⁹

Perhaps the opposite of official science is not ignorance, as Marx and Engels argued. Possibly there is an "unofficial science." Bakunin thought he found such a science in the anti-bourgeois revolution. As with official science, however, Bakunin also rejected "unofficial science" as expounded by Marx. The latter cited and commented on Bakunin's argument that the Marxists were headed toward

"nothing but a rather despotic rule over the masses of the people exercised by a very small aristocracy of genuine or spurious scholars. The people is not scientifically trained. . . and wholly included in the herd that has to be governed." . . . "The Marxists are aware of this" (!) "contradiction and realising that the government of scholars" (what a fantastic notion!) "will be the world's most oppressive, resented and despicable government. . . , they seek consolation in the thought that this dictatorship [of the proletariat] will be a provisional and shortlived measure."

Non, mon cher! . . . the class rule of the workers. . . can only continue until the economic basis that makes the existence of classes

¹⁸The quotation is in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, "Report and Documents Published by Decision of The Hague Congress of The International," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 113.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 113.

possible has been destroyed.²⁰

Bakunin, it would appear, has made a great find for humanity. He is Marx without degenerate "official" science, e.g., economics. He is Marx without the despotic "government of scholars." Stated in positive terms, Bakunin has an unofficial, revolutionary science for the people.

The latter part of Bakunin's discovery should be taken first. He complained that Marx did not wish to have the people "scientifically trained." Bakunin discussed how he would train the people in science:

"The government. . .drives us out of the universities, the academies, the schools. We are grateful to it for having thus put us on such glorious, such strong ground. . . . now we can do things. And what are we going to do? Teach the people? That would be stupid. The people know themselves, and better than we do, what they need. . . .Our task is not to teach the people but to rouse them we can give them what they have always lacked, what has been the principal cause of all their defeats. We can give them the unity of a universal movement by rallying their own forces."²¹

As for the content of Bakunin's unofficial science, the enigmatic "universal movement" provides a clue. Marx noted how "the first socialists" subscribed "to dreams of the ideal society," and condemned all political activity by the working class. He then stated--with the anarchists in mind*--his position with respect to early socialist viewpoints:

²⁰Karl Marx, "From The Conspectus of Bakunin's Book State and Anarchy," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, pp. 151-2.

²¹The quotation is from Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 113.

*Bakunin's critical-utopianism is discussed shortly (under idealism).

But if we have no right to reject these patriarchs of socialism, just as the chemists have no right to reject their fathers, the alchemists, we must at least avoid repeating their mistakes, which if committed by us would be inexcusable.²²

Bakunin's unofficial science, then, turned out to be magic, a precursor of science. His new science for the people was really the opposite, an old mysticism of the people. "Science," therefore, was a cover for Bakunin's antiintellectualism: the faith in a primordial "universal movement." Likewise, "science" concealed his total intellectualism: the conversion of Marx's organization of the proletariat into an aristocracy of academicians.

Nevertheless, Bakunin's use of science indicated that he was further advanced toward revolution than the other rebels. The "hero" Heinzen, for example, was another alchemist of revolution. But unlike him, Bakunin at least talked about science favorably.

Behind Bakunin's nominalistic appreciation of science there swirled the same extremist thought process characterizing the other rebels. Bakunin made an extreme out of bourgeois science--official science--and adopted the opposite for himself: unofficial science. In the process he took the opposite of Marx, who never denied "official" science. Bakunin made another extreme out of Marx--science for the aristocracy--and claimed for himself the contrary: science for the people.

By turning Marx upside down, Bakunin found a real gold mine. Unfortunately, it was a lost one in the superstition mountains. This outcome was clearly foretold in Bakunin's allegation that Marx sought to establish Plato's Republic. After all, the opponents of Socrates--the total intellectual--were not scientists but another group of people.

²²Karl Marx, "Indifference to Politics," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 96.

Total pacificism to total violence.--It will be recalled that Bakunin preached complete abstention from all politics. Engels summed up Bakunin's strategy as follows:

The thing to do is to carry on propaganda, heap abuse upon the state, organise, and when all the workers, hence the majority, are won over, depose all the authorities, abolish the state and replace it with the organisation of the International. This great act, with which the millennium begins, is called social liquidation.²³

In the meantime, before "liquidation" rolls over the world, submission is the order of the day. For "to combat the State is to recognise the State, which is contrary to the eternal principles. . .of emancipation of the working class!"²⁴

Total acquiescence is pacificism with a forked tongue. "If in the political struggle against the bourgeois State the workers only manage to wrest concessions, they are making compromises, which is contrary to the eternal principles. One must therefore scorn any peaceful movement."²⁵ What remains are the tactics of the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper regarding violence, although now developed one step further. If Peter the Great tried to do away with barbarianism with barbarianism, Bakunin wished to destroy Peter's barbarianism with still more barbarianism:

"While not recognising any other activity but that of destruction, we acknowledge that the forms in which it manifests itself may be extremely varied: poison, dagger, noose, etc. The revolution sanctifies all without distinction. The field lies open' . . .Let all heads

²³"Engels to Cuno," p. 70.

²⁴Marx, "Indifference to Politics," p. 94.

²⁵Ibid., p. 94.

that are young and healthy undertake at once the sacred work of killing out evil, purging and enlightening the Russian land by fire and sword. . . .²⁶

In the "heroes" the "ought" was only the opposite of what really existed. In Willich/Schapper the "ought" turned out to be only a restatement of what already existed. In Bakunin the "ought" was a combination of the two previous forms: a restatement of what was not--the future of a large part of the middle class, a decline into the lumpenproletariat. His total, violent rejection of the present--of "not leaving a stone standing"²⁷--was really only a passive acceptance of the future class development. Bakunin prepared his followers by glorifying their unglorious destiny:

"Brigandage is one of the most honourable forms of the Russian people's life. The brigand is a hero, a protector, a people's avenger, the irreconcilable enemy of the State,. . . a fighter to the death against the whole civilisation of the civil servants, the nobles, the priests and the crown. . . .The brigand in Russia is the true and only revolutionary--the revolutionary without phrases, without rhetoric culled from books, an indefatigable revolutionary,. . . a popular and social revolutionary, not a political or class revolutionary. . . ."²⁸

Unlike the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, Bakunin actually attempted to make violence of violence. Marx and Engels complained that in Russia the Alliance "substitutes itself entirely for the International and commits, in its name, crimes against the common law, acts of fraud and an assassination for which the government and bourgeois press has blamed our Association."²⁹ Engels reported that

²⁶The quotation is from Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 116.

²⁷The quotation is from ibid., p. 114.

²⁸The quotation is from ibid., p. 114.

²⁹Ibid., p. 106.

in the 1873 revolt in Spain, the insurrectionary government of Cartagena released from the local prison "Spain's worst robbers and murderers. . . .this revolutionary step was suggested to it by the Bakuninists." The golden nectar of Bakunin's Gods turned into goat's milk:

When the local government of Cartagena released the "evil passions" of the 1,800 jailed cutthroats, thereby carrying demoralisation among its troops to the extreme limit, it acted wholly in the spirit of Bakunin. And when, instead of battering down its own fortifications, the Spanish Government awaited the fall of Cartagena through the internal disorganisation of its defenders, it was pursuing an entirely correct policy.³⁰

Actually, the Bakuninists' pursuit of a violent apocalypse was not without its "ifs" and "buts." When confronted with any serious opposition, the Alliance turned into a doorman to abject pacificism. In Cadiz, Spain, for example, the Bakuninist-inspired "defenders only fought on the approaches to the city, and with little spirit at that, and then. . . they allowed themselves to be disarmed without resistance."³¹ In Alcoy, where the Alliance was even more prominent, a similar quiet cave-in occurred: the troops of the Spanish Government "entered the town without meeting any resistance, the only promise made to the [provisional revolutionary government] for this being . . . a general amnesty. The 'masters of the situation' [i.e., the Bakuninists] had once again extricated themselves from a tight spot."³²

In Russia the contradiction between total violence and total pacificism was deliberately applied as a formal policy. Marx and Engels noted that the Alliance's frauds and assassinations did not go beyond a certain limit:

³⁰Frederick Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism*, p. 143.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 141.

³²*Ibid.*, pp. 136-7.

What terrible revolutionaries! They want to annihilate and amorphise everything, "absolutely everything". They draw up lists of proscribed persons, doomed to die by their daggers, their poison, their ropes, by the bullets from their revolvers; they "will tear out the tongues" of many, but they will bow before the Tsar. Indeed, the Tsar, the officials, the nobility, the bourgeoisie may sleep in peace. The Alliance does not make war on the established states, but on the revolutionaries who do not stoop to the role of supernumeraries in this tragi-comedy. Peace to the palaces, war on the cottages! . . .³³

In brief, then, the Alliance had developed the contradiction between violence and pacificism more fully than the previous rebels. In the "heroes" violence was latent, whereas pacificism was manifest. Arnold Ruge, for example, talked war after passively resisting his way out of Germany. For Willich/Schapper the relationship was the reverse: pacificism hid under the bed of the "either-or." Unlike both of these groups, the Alliance put into practice violence and pacificism simultaneously. Bakunin played a part which had not existed previously: the Grand Inquisitor who is conveniently out to lunch.

Revolution to reaction.--The anarchists were "men occupied with transcendent revolutionism. . . ."³⁴ At the same time they were men busy with very prosaic counterrevolutionism.

The "heroes" in a negative sense served the reaction, i.e., by not providing the necessary leadership lacking in the opposition forces. Moreover, they also were reactionaries in an indirect way: the consequences of the "heroes'" activities were beneficial to the status quo. Marx noted that their "display of alleged connections and imagined conspiracies" gave the reactionaries a pretext "to arrest all sorts of people in Germany, to suppress the indigenous

³³Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," pp. 117-8.

³⁴Frederick Engels, "From The Working Men of Europe in 1877," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 164.

movements and to use these wretched strawmen in London as scare-crows with which to frighten the German middle classes."³⁵

Similarly, Willich/Schapper were negatively counter-revolutionaries: they ruined the Communist League. They were also indirectly reactionaries in that they served as a pretext for the Cologne trial against the Marxists. The basic difference between the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper was that the latter were more deliberate in their divisionism and destruction of the revolutionary forces.

In much the same way Bakunin behaved like a dirty feather. Negative counterrevolutionism was displayed in the spats provoked by the Alliance within the International. Engels argued:

These quarrels only serve to squander forces which ought to be employed in fighting the present middle-class régime. The Alliance, in so far as it paralyses the action of the International against the enemies of the working class, serves admirably the middle class and the governments.³⁶

Another example of reaction in a negative sense was the line of the Alliance during the Spanish revolt in 1873. What in previous uprisings had been "an unavoidable evil. . . , namely, the fragmentation and isolation of the revolutionary forces. . . , was here proclaimed a principle of supreme revolutionary wisdom. Bakunin had that satisfaction."³⁷

Like the other rebels before him, Bakunin also served the reaction indirectly, as a pretext for government initiative. Marx and Engels noted that the Alliance program provided "evidence to be

³⁵Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Heroes of the Exile, in Rodney Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 215.

³⁶Frederick Engels, "From The Address The General Council to All the Members of The International Working Men's Association," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, pp. 81-2. "Middle class" presumably refers to the big bourgeoisie, not petty bourgeoisie.

³⁷Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 140.

used by the Bonapartist or other prosecutors against members of the International. . . .The phraseology of these sectarians. . .is extremely useful for promoting the aims of the reactionaries."³⁸

Both the negative and indirect reactionism of the Alliance were so concerted that Marx and Engels cited with approval the following newspaper statement: "If you [Bakuninists] are not a paid agent, the one thing quite certain is that a paid agent would never have succeeded in doing as much harm as you. . . ."39

Bakunin, in brief, had reached the level of Willich/Schapper in negative and indirect counterrevolutionism. But, here again, Bakunin went a step further. Willich/Schapper gave information to the prosecution in the Cologne trial to hurt the Marxists. Willich/Schapper apparently did not seek to assist the German Government per se, but rather to weaken their revolutionary opponents. Bakunin, on the other hand, actively aided the counterrevolution. Engels cited a report on the Bakuninists from the Madrid Federation of the International:

" . . .the same people who call themselves autonomists, anarchist revolutionaries, etc., have. . . flung themselves into politics, bourgeois politics of the worst kind. They have worked, not to give political power to the working class-- on the contrary this idea is repugnant to them-- but to help to power a bourgeois faction of adventurers, ambitious men and place-hunters who call themselves Intransigent Republicans."⁴⁰

The support of the bourgeoisie by the Alliance was astonish-

³⁸Marx and Engels, "Fictitious Splits," p. 73.

³⁹Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 107.

⁴⁰Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 129.

ingly thorough. Pi y Margall came to power and

produced a programme of social measures which could be carried out immediately and would not only benefit the workers directly but eventually lead to further steps. . . . But the [Bakuninists]. . . , who were obliged to reject even the most revolutionary measures if they emanated from the "State," preferred to support the most preposterous swindlers among the Intransigents rather than a minister.⁴¹

The anarchists' quagmire of pacificism and violence, revolution and reaction, can be summed up in terms of their overall political policy. They began with abstention from all politics as a matter of principle. "There remained, then, nothing but strikes, generally repressed by bloody intervention of the military. . . . The work-people got sick of this and the whole movement gradually fell asleep."⁴² From abstention to circumvention, and thereafter, intervention: Bakunin wavered through it all between an outlaw and a sweet-and-sour careerist. He demonstrated how a Rasputin of revolution is always a Rumpelstiltskin of reaction.

High principles versus base practice. --Bakunin claimed that he was seeking a "universal revolution" in order that "millions of deceived, enslaved, tormented and exploited human beings, liberated from all their directors and benefactors, official and officious, collective and individual, may breathe at last with complete freedom."⁴³ The International should be the prototype of the future society:

"The future society is to be nothing but the generalised form of organisation adopted by the International. We must therefore see to it that this organisation approximates as

⁴¹Ibid., p. 132.

⁴²Engels, "The Workingmen of Europe," p. 164.

⁴³Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 107.

closely as possible to our ideal. . . . The International. . . should already now be the true image of our principles of freedom and federalism, and should banish all principles which tend to lead to authority and dictatorship."44

As with the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, Bakunin's real conduct was precisely the opposite of his declared principles. Within the International the Bakuninists struggled for supremacy "by fair means or by foul, over a body of which they formed but a small minority."45 That the latter type of means predominated was indicated by Marx and Engels in their report to the International. They observed that the Alliance "resorts to any means, any disloyalty to achieve its ends; lies, slander, intimidation, the stab in the back--if finds them all equally suitable."46

The principles-conduct contradiction is unavoidable whenever the principles are transcendental in nature. In fact, the word "transcendental" automatically assumes the contradiction. Marx and Engels discussed this interdependency with regard to Bakunin's hatred of the general "institution of the State":47

Thus it is not the Bonapartist State, the Prussian or Russian State that has to be overthrown, but an abstract State, the State as such, a State that nowhere exists. But while the [Alliance] in their desperate struggle against this State that is situated somewhere in the clouds know how to avoid the truncheons, the prison and the bullets that real States deal out to ordinary revolutionaries, we see on the other hand that they have reserved themselves the right. . . to profit by all the ad-

44Frederick Engels, "The Congress of Sonvillier and The International," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 62.

45Engels, "The Workingmen of Europe," p. 159.

46Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 106.

47Ibid., p. 108.

vantages offered by these real bourgeois states That is why the police shows so little concern over [Bakunin's conspiracy] against the abstract idea of the State.⁴⁸

By directing all principles to the world beyond, earthly activities can continue on in an unprincipled manner. As Bakunin noted, "The field lies open."

The basic difference between Bakunin and the other rebels was detectable in his statement just noted. Unlike them, Bakunin made another principle out of his base conduct: the motto of the Alliance was "high-handed behaviour everywhere."⁴⁹ Thus, he "solved" the principles-conduct contradiction by turning it into a contradiction between two sets of principles. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Bakuninists had double support for their belief "that their eternal principles [do not] oblige them to abstain from the pleasures of the world and the transient privileges of bourgeois society."⁵⁰

In the end Bakunin wanted to transform the International into Cinderella's glass slipper. Marx and Engels opposed him: "the proletariat is told to organise not in accordance with the requirements of the struggle it is daily and hourly compelled to wage, but according to the vague notions of a future society. . . ."⁵¹ Bakunin had to work fast. Midnight was rapidly approaching at The Hague, and, unlike the fairy tale, the glass slipper would revert back to a bare foot. He thereupon took up the role of John Henry's hammer.

Theory versus practice.--As has been noted, the centerpiece of Bakunin's theory was complete abstention from all politics. Engels observed a theory-practice contradiction in the Alliance during the uprising in Spain:

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 108.

⁴⁹Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 135.

⁵⁰Marx, "Indifference to Politics," p. 99.

⁵¹Engels, "Congress of Sonvillier," p. 63.

As soon as they were faced with a serious revolutionary situation, the Bakuninists had to throw the whole of their old programme overboard. First they sacrificed their doctrine of absolute abstention from political and especially electoral, activities [e.g., they voted in the elections to the Constituent Cortes]. Then anarchy, the abolition of the State, shared the same fate. Instead of abolishing the State they tried, on the contrary, to set up a number of new, small states [e.g., in Andalusia]. They then dropped the principle that the workers must not take part in any revolution that did not have as its aim the immediate and complete emancipation of the proletariat, and they themselves took part in a movement that was notoriously bourgeois [i.e., the Intransigents]. Finally they went against the dogma they had only just proclaimed--that the establishment of a revolutionary government is but another fraud, another betrayal of the working class--for they sat quite comfortably in the juntas of the various towns [e.g., Seville, Cadiz, Granada, and Valencia], and moreover almost everywhere as an impotent minority outvoted and politically exploited by the bourgeoisie.⁵²

It seems that Bakunin--once again--has outdone the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper. Just as Bakunin's principles-conduct contradiction was itself turned into a principle, so his theory-practice contradiction regarding political participation is included within his theory. As Engels noted, "Absolute abstention in political matters is impossible, so all the abstentionist journals are actually engaging in politics."⁵³ When applied to the working class, the theory of complete abstention becomes an ever greater contradiction. When material developments "push the proletariat into the fore, . . . abstention becomes a palpable absurdity and the active intervention of the working class an inevitable necessity."⁵⁴ Thus, the theory

⁵²Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," pp. 144-5.

⁵³Frederick Engels, "On Political Action of the Working Class," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism*, p. 51.

⁵⁴Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 130.

of political nonparticipation eventually yields forth its true "inner essence": an abject self-contradiction. Bakunin displayed the dilemma in all its glory. He was compelled to abstain from political abstention.

The rest of Bakunin's theory mostly consisted of plans to take the government out of government. The Bakuninists "have latterly launched a regular crusade against what they call the principle of authority. It suffices to tell them that this or that act is authoritarian for it to be condemned."⁵⁵ Bakunin himself proclaimed that

"it matters little to us whether this authority be called the church, the monarchy, the constitutional state, the bourgeois republic or even the revolutionary dictatorship. We detest them and reject them all in equal measure as unfailing sources of exploitation and despotism."⁵⁶

As it turned out, Bakunin's theoretical hatred of abstract authority was in direct proportion to his practical love of concrete authority--his own authority within the Alliance. Among the Bakuninists "despite all the phrases about anarchy, autonomy, free federation, etc., there are really only two things: authority and obedience."⁵⁷

Once more, Bakunin can be distinguished from the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper. As with political abstention, Bakunin deliberately pursued the contradiction regarding authoritarianism. His antiauthoritarian theory was for consumption by "the uninitiated," i.e., nonmembers of his Alliance. Bakunin's authoritarian practice, on the other hand, was for the "initiated, with the aim

⁵⁵Frederick Engels, "On Authority," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 100.

⁵⁶Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 108.

⁵⁷Frederick Engels, "From The Imperative Mandates to The Hague Congress," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 86.

of taking over leadership of the [International, and] treating the working masses as a flock of sheep blindly following a few initiated leaders. . . ."58

Somewhat inevitably, just as there arose two sets of principles, so also Bakunin ended up with two different theories. Moreover, like the second set of principles which honored Bakunin's base conduct, the second theory included his real practice of resolute authoritarianism. The Alliance publication "The Fundamental Principles of the Future Social Order" noted that after the revolution there would be "compulsory physical labour for everyone." In order to make sure that everyone would have the benefit of this "principle" equally, the Alliance would create a situation in which there would be "no other alternative but work or death." The virtue of frugality would also be instilled in the inhabitants: "Everyone will endeavour to produce as much as possible for society and consume as little as possible; all the pride, all the ambition of the worker of those times will rest in the awareness of his usefulness to society." As Marx and Engels commented, "Here you have it all: communal eating, communal sleeping, assessors and offices regulating education, production, consumption, in a word, all social activity. . . .This is indeed the purest anti-authoritarianism. . . ."59

As part of his antiauthoritarianism theory, Bakunin opposed all centralism. Thus, he objected to the Resolutions of the Basle Congress on the grounds that they gave the General Council of the International too much power: "the sections are entirely under the control of the General Council, which can arbitrarily either refuse to admit them or suspend their work."60

Bakunin's practice of course was the reverse of his anti-centralist theory. When the Basle Resolutions were first proposed,

58Frederick Engels, "Engels to C. Cafiero in Naples, June 14, 1872," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, pp. 78-9.

59Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 111.

60Engels, "Congress of Sonvillier," p. 62.

"no one supported them more ardently than Bakunin and his friends. . . ." The Bakuninists "then hoped to secure a majority and that the General Council would be dominated by them. At that time they wanted to make the General Council as strong as possible." The Alliance failed to secure a majority, however, and then pronounced itself in favor of anticentralism. "Now the grapes are sour. . . ."61

Bakunin took care of the contradiction in his authoritarian theory. Here centralism was served under glass: "The ending of the present social order and the renewal of life with the aid of the new principles," the Alliance declared, "can be accomplished only by concentrating all the means of social existence in the hands of Our Committee. . . ."62

In his antiauthoritarianism theory, Bakunin upheld autonomy in contrast to centralism. The Alliance considered the International to be only "a free federation of autonomous. . . sections."63 Bakunin's practice within his own organization and with regard to the Basle Resolutions, coupled with the "other" theory of Our Committee, suffice to bring out his contradictory viewpoint to federalism. The behavior of the Bakuninists in the Spanish revolt only bears out the self-contradiction of their "federalism." In Alcoy the Alliance took charge, and formed the Committee of Public Safety:

What measures did it adopt to bring about "the immediate and complete emancipation of the workers"? It forbade any man to leave the city, although women were allowed to do so, provided they . . . had a pass! The enemies of all authority re-introducing a pass!64

61Ibid., p. 64.

62Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 118.

63Engels, "Congress of Sonvillier," p. 61.

64Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 136.

In short, "federalism" for the Bakuninists meant a collectivity of small dictatorships. Each was to be "free" and independent of the other. The kind of "liberty" the autonomous tyrannies would have become evident in Alcoy. When the troops of the Spanish Government approached, the Committee of Public Safety "passed" out.

Bakunin's antiauthoritarianism theory contained the tenet of revolution by Immaculate Conception. He preached "that all revolutionary action from above was an evil, and everything should be organised and carried through from below."⁶⁵ There should be "no party discipline, no centralisation of forces at a particular point, no weapons of struggle."⁶⁶ In Bakunin's own words, the proletariat was to emancipate itself "without any directing authority, even if set up by voluntary agreement. . . ."⁶⁷

The immediate practice of Bakunin was, naturally, precisely the opposite of his words. He spoke of no "directing authority"; yet, as has already been noted, within the Alliance there was only authority and obedience. Once more Bakunin's authoritarian theory scooped up the contradiction. The complete mass spontaneity from below was not to be entirely spontaneous:

"it is necessary that in the midst of popular anarchy. . . the unity of revolutionary thought and action should be embodied in a certain organ. That organ must be the secret and world-wide association of the international brothers.

"This association arises from the conviction that revolutions are never made either by individuals or by secret societies. . . . They slowly mature in the depths of the instinctive conscience of the popular masses, then they explode . . . the only thing a well-organised secret society can do is first to assist the birth of revolution by spreading among the masses ideas that accord with the instinct of the masses, and

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 138.

⁶⁶Engels, "Congress of Sonvillier," p. 63.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 61-2.

to organise, not the army of the revolution--that army must always be the people,. . . but a revolutionary General Staff composed of devoted, energetic and intelligent individuals who are above all sincere--not vain or ambitious--friends of the people. . . ."68

In brief, Bakunin was not content with leaving "well enough alone." He had to go on and make sure that "anarchy behaves itself properly. . . ."69

Engels recapitulated as follows the central points of Bakunin's antiauthoritarianism theory and his contradictory practice:

The same men who accuse the General Council of authoritativeness. . . , who talk at every opportunity of the autonomy of sections, of the free federation of groups; who charge the General Council with the intention of. . . [transforming] our Association into a hierarchically constituted organisation--these very same men, in practice, constitute themselves as a secret society with a hierarchical organisation, and under a, not merely authoritative, but absolutely dictatorial leadership; they trample under their feet every vestige of autonomy of sections and federations. . . . While they demand that the International should be organised from below upwards, they themselves, as members of the Alliance, humbly submit to the word of command which is handed down to them from above.⁷⁰

From an apolitical posture to a totally political stance; antiauthoritarian totalitarianism; centralized anticentralism; autonomously antiautonomy; and controlled spontaneity--all of these oppositions were included within Bakunin's "other" theory.

⁶⁸Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 111.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁷⁰Engels, "Address," pp. 80-1.

Together, they suggest that rebellion reached a new level in Bakunin. He knew what he was doing.

Nevertheless--and this is essential--he could not keep from doing it.

The cult of contradiction in the "heroes" was in the stage of "both." That is, they retained both of the opposing terms simultaneously. Willich/Schapper pushed the cult of contradiction to the point of rupture; the "either-or." Bakunin, for his part, simply put the two together: the "both" and the "either-or" at the same time. The combination of the two previous levels was the substance of his "other" theory. As Marx and Engels explained it, "This is where the doctrine of the Alliance, anarchy at the bottom and discipline at the top, emerges in all its purity."⁷¹

At this point Bakunin epitomized the basic social reality underlying rebellion. He was a Kamikaze pilot with enough gas to get home.

The cult of synthesis

Autism.--Marx considered Bakunin's theory to be an anecdote to his ego. "To Mr. Bakunin doctrine. . . was and is a secondary matter--merely a means to his personal self-assertion."⁷² Engels argued that Bakunin's objective was to place the proletariat "at the service of the inflated ambition and selfish ends of a few misunderstood geniuses."⁷³ He even explained the "perpetual resurrection" of anarchism as the achievement of resolute individualists: "there are always would-be great men who would like on the cheap to play an important rôle. It seems as if anarchism were specially made for this purpose."⁷⁴

The "heroes" watched out for "Number One" by talking revolution

⁷¹Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 114.

⁷²Marx, "Marx to Bolte," p. 56.

⁷³Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 128.

⁷⁴Frederick Engels, "Engels to J. Becker in Geneva, December 16, 1882," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 170.

without practicing it. The Willich/Schapper group similarly protected itself. They practiced revolution but talked about it--at least to the prosecution in Cologne--as pertaining to Marx's League. Bakunin succeeded in realizing Willich/Schapper's dream. He preached revolution and got others to practice it for him:

"We break all ties with the political émigrés who refuse to return to their country to join our ranks. . . . We make exception for the émigrés who have already declared themselves workers of the European revolution. From now on we shall make no further repetitions or appeals. . . . it will be no fault of ours if all who hide behind the scenes are cold-bloodedly and pitilessly destroyed, along with the scenery that hides them."⁷⁵

Marx and Engels commented:

At this point we can see right through Bakunin. While enjoining the émigrés on pain of death to return to Russia as agents of his secret society. . . he grants himself a papal dispensation to remain peacefully in Switzerland as "a worker of the European revolution", and to occupy himself composing manifestos that compromise the unfortunate students whom the police hold in their prisons.⁷⁶

The Bakuninists added another dimension to autism. They wanted everybody to just as autistic as themselves. Individualism for everyone was part of their strategy during the uprising in Spain. The Alliance had condemned elections for some time, but then some real elections came along, involving the Cortes. The Bakuninists wanted to vote without betraying their principle of abstention. So "they invented that deplorable way out--that of

⁷⁵Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 116.

⁷⁶ibid., p. 116.

having the International abstain as a body, but allowing its members as individuals to vote as they liked."⁷⁷

Individualism for everyone easily slipped into everyone for the individual. "Which" individual became clear in a crisis. The Spanish revolt provides an example:

While [the other] cities, as sovereign cantons, had been fighting the government, Cartagena adhered to the principle of "every man for himself". Now when they had been defeated the principle which was held to be valid was-- "everyone for Cartagena". That was how the Intransigents of Cartagena and their Bakunist supporters interpreted the federalism of the sovereign cantons.⁷⁸

A prerequisite for making everyone outstanding seems to be the absence of understanding. Marx questioned on this basis the notion of a society of individualists: "And will everybody be at the top in Bakunin's construction built from the bottom upwards? There will in fact be no below then."⁷⁹ The defeat of Cartagena solves Marx's riddle: there would indeed be a below.

The Cartagena case illustrates a basic characteristic of autism. When pressed into darkness, the love of the individual is diffused and transformed into the love of the individual group. The result is "sectarian organisations with their vagaries and rivalries. . . ." ⁸⁰ Autism in the form of divisionism entered a new stage with Bakunin. The "heroes" and Willich/Schapper followed the more traditional strategy of "divide and conquer." Bakunin's Alliance reversed the battle plan: "it infiltrates the ranks of the international organization of the working class, at first attempts to dominate it and, when this plan fails, sets to work to disorganise it."⁸¹

⁷⁷Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 131.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 142.

⁷⁹Marx, "Conspectus," p. 149.

⁸⁰Marx and Engels, "Fictitious Splits," p. 73.

⁸¹Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 106.

Nowhere did Bakunin achieve greater success at disorganization, however, than in his own efforts to disorganize. On an individual level divisionism continued to divide--all the way down to the basic units. As Engels noted many years later, "the anarchists have all become 'unique ones', so unique that no two of them can agree with each other. . . ."82 On the group level the same process occurred. Divisionism hacked its way to the last splinter: "cliquishness."83

In both of the above aspects of autism, Bakunin was similar to the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper. Like them, he was incapable of comprehending any social organization other than the "buddy system." Like them, he imagined he could control the world by putting a ring in its nose.

Nevertheless, the autism of the Alliance differed from that of its predecessors in one important way. The final outcome was more dramatic. Engels remarked that in 1877

some thirty anarchists [near Naples] proclaimed the "social revolution", but were speedily taken care of by the police. All they attained was the complete breakdown of their own sectarian movement in Italy. Thus the anarchist organisation. . . was again reduced to its original nucleus, some two hundred men in the Jura district of Switzerland, where from the isolation of their mountain recesses, they continue to protest against the victorious heresy of the rest of the world. . . .84

In summary, Bakunin's autism was manifested in the various roles he played. At the core was the part of the waylaid genius. But in that he really had nothing constructive to do, Bakunin slowly became the barnacled expert. Then, the desire for self-

82Frederick Engels, "Engels to M. Hildebrand in Berlin, October 22, 1889," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 179.

83Frederick Engels, "In Italy," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 158.

84Engels, "The Workingmen of Europe," pp. 160-1.

preservation was also present. Yet Bakunin did not want to compromise himself with respect to--well, as he phrased it, "public emergence on the scene of Russian life."⁸⁵ And so a third role emerged which was built upon the others. This was Attila the Hun with a twisted ankle.

Active inactivity.--Like the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, the Bakuninists generally avoided "all real action which went further than idle talk and conspiratorial humbug. . . ."⁸⁶ There was a basic difference, however, in the quality of the "humbug." In the "heroes" it consisted of intrigues within an organization of rebels. With Willich/Schapper the group context was rebels and revolutionaries. Bakunin's plots entered a new phase: wasted motion consisted of schemes by an organization of rebels within a revolutionary organization.

The crystalization of the objective context took the form, then, of a semiorganization within an organization. This development had important consequences for active inactivity. Given the greater underdevelopment of rebellious and revolutionary societies in the past, the conspiracies within them were open secrets. With the increased maturation of the proletarian organization, these intrigues were compelled to go from public to private.

Engels noted in the following terms the change just outlined:

For the first time in the history of the working-class struggles, we stumble over a secret conspiracy plotted in the midst of that class, and intended to undermine, not the existing capitalist régime, but the very Association in which that régime finds its most energetic opponent.⁸⁷

Unlike the previous rebels, Bakunin's conspiracy was "secret."

⁸⁵Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 116.

⁸⁶Engels, "In Italy," p. 156.

⁸⁷Engels, "Address," p. 81.

Engels then went on and discussed the objective circumstances which produced the difference. "The men of the Alliance themselves are not foolish enough to expect that the great mass of the Internationals would knowingly submit to an organisation like theirs, its existence once made known." Therefore, the Bakuninists' only hope was to be "elected by surprise" to the central organs of the International.⁸⁸

Active inactivity is indicative of a circumscribed situation. With the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, the principal limits were imposed by the forces of reaction. With Bakunin, on the other hand, boundaries appeared on both sides, the reaction and the revolution. As the fences doubled, so did energetic inertia. Within its cramped quarters spurious action fed upon itself. In Bakunin active inactivity stored up an inordinate amount of strength. What previously had been tiny mussels now appeared full-grown as a giant clam.

For Engels the "action" of the Alliance consisted of spinning a prayer wheel:

Indeed, no party discipline, no centralisation of forces. . . , no weapons of struggle! . . . In short, where would this new organisation get us? To the cowardly, servile organisation of the early Christians, those slaves who gratefully accepted every kick and whose groveling did indeed after 300 years win them the victory of their religion--a method of revolution which the proletariat will surely not imitate! Like the early Christians. . . we are to take Mr [sic] Bakunin's heaven of the future society as a model, and are to pray and hope instead of fighting. And the people who preach this nonsense pretend to be the only true revolutionaries!⁸⁹

Marx noted the same attribute: Bakunin "concludes that the

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 81.

⁸⁹Engels, "Congress of Sonvillier," pp. 63-4.

proletariat should rather do nothing at all and wait for the day of universal liquidation--the Last Judgement."⁹⁰

Bakunin himself was not going to wait, as Marx and Engels also recognized. He did precisely what the early Christians did: develop into the late Christians. In the Alliance's secret statutes uncovered by Marx and Engels, Bakunin's group "openly proclaims itself a modern Society of Jesus and declares that it has the right and the duty to practise all the methods employed by the Jesuits" ⁹¹ Hence the intrigues within the International, the attempt "of a few plotters to dictate their orders to the whole working class movement."⁹²

Unfortunately for Bakunin, the early and late Christians stared each other in the eye, and neither would go away. The result was an Augustinian tale of two cities which could never agree. Nevertheless, the anarchists attempted to synthesize them. The result was a rocky Babylon.

A commentary by Engels indicates how the anarchists tried to mix an eternal cross with a revolutionary sword: "We have heard talk of people who 'stand in Christianity, in the true faith, in the grace of God,' etc. But 'standing' in the revolution, in the most violent of all movements?" He went on to ask the anarchists about their call to "stand more in the revolution": "Is, then, 'the revolution' a dogmatic religion in which one must believe?"⁹³

By their later activities in Spain, apparently the Alliance would have answered "yes." At one point the Alliance made a general appraisal of the situation: "The revolutionary movement is spreading like wildfire throughout the peninsula . . . nothing has as yet happened in Barcelona, but the revolution is permanent in the market place!" Engels then commented, "But it was the revolution

⁹⁰Marx, "Conspectus," p. 152.

⁹¹Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 106.

⁹²Engels, "In Italy," p. 157.

⁹³Frederick Engels, "From The Housing Question," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 91.

of the Alliance, which consists in beating the big drum and for this reason remains 'permanently' in the same 'place'.⁹⁴ It becomes clear at this point that both sides of the contradiction, inactivity and total activity, had advanced far beyond the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper. "Permanent revolution": merely reverse the word order and the reality of Bakunin emerges.

The events in Spain demonstrate active inactivity in its clearest form. On the one hand, the Alliance wanted to do nothing. This was its abstentionist policy. On the other hand, the Alliance wanted to do everything. That was its position of political apocalypse, or the Last Judgement. Since they were unable to put into practice either extreme of total action and total inaction, the Bakuninists had good reason to fear "the end of their control over the International in Spain." The solution was to synthesize the two impossibilities together. "They had to act, if only for the sake of appearances. Salvation for them lay in a general strike."

Engels described the program of a "general strike" as follows:

One fine morning all the workers in all the industries of a country, or even of the whole world, stop work, thus forcing the propertied classes either humbly to submit within four weeks at the most, or to attack the workers, who would then have the right to defend themselves and use this opportunity to pull down the entire old society.

In order to have a general strike, however, a highly-developed proletariats' organization with considerable money was required. "And there's the rub." On a practical level governments "will never allow the organisation or the funds of the workers to reach such a level. . . ." At the same time, oppression by the "ruling classes will lead to the liberation of the workers long before the pro-

⁹⁴Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 134.

letariat is able to set up such an ideal organisation and this colossal reserve fund." But on a theoretical level the artificiality of the Bakuninists' synthesis is even more apparent: even if the working class had the organization and reserve fund, "there would be no need to use the roundabout way of a general strike to achieve its goal."⁹⁵

The active inactivity of the Alliance in Spain ended up as "unfettered revolutionary passion" and assorted uprisings "launched without reason like a bolt from the blue. . . ." ⁹⁶ Even where the Bakuninists were handed power, stationary vigor predominated. As was noted, in Alcoy the Bakuninists occupied themselves with "re-introducing a pass! Everything else was utter confusion, inactivity and helplessness." In Sanlucar the Alliance "formed a revolutionary government" that resembled the Frankfurt Assembly. They simply "did not know what to do with their power. They wasted time in futile debates and paper resolutions."⁹⁷

The pointless projects point out a basic feature of the Bakuninists: they were embryonic bureaucrats. Flabbiness took the same form in the other rebels. Again, though, a difference is detectable in the extent to which the Bakuninists tried to realize the sweet dream of lethargy.

It will be recalled that Bakunin wanted to turn the International into the prototype of his future society. After failing to take over the General Council, Bakunin came forth with a new plan for the Council. Engels commented that his theories "appear here in their full splendour. . . . A workers' association, which has inscribed upon its banner the motto of struggle for the emancipation of the working class is to be headed, not by an executive committee, but merely by a statistical and correspondence bureau!"⁹⁸

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 131, 132.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 140.

⁹⁷Ibid., pp. 136, 137.

⁹⁸Engels, "Congress of Sonvillier," p. 62.

This idyllic world of data hounds and letter writers reappears in "Our Committee" of the "Future Social Order." After the "present institutions have been overthrown," "Our Committee" "proclaims" that all property is common, "orders" the establishment of workers' societies, and "publishes statistical tables compiled by experts and pointing out what branches of labour are most needed in a certain locality and what branches may run into difficulties." Moreover, "Our Committee" does all of this "at the same time. . . ."⁹⁹ The final outcome of these bureaucratic visions was that the Bakuninists turned into "a general staff of officers without an army. . . ."¹⁰⁰ "Our Committee" was truly "Our Committee"--nobody else's.

The Alliance followed Washington's dictum and avoided entanglement. This was particularly the case when it came to the seaweed of success. In Spain they went beyond passive resistance by resigning and obtaining promises of a general amnesty. Within the revolutionary governments the Bakuninists were "always in a minority, so that the Intransigents could do whatever they wished. . . . As soon as the Bakuninist leaders demanded real concessions, they were scornfully repulsed."¹⁰¹ Engels summed up the Bakuninists' Spanish adventure in a manner which suggests that failure flourished to a far greater extent than in the "heroes" or Willich/Schapper:

the Bakuninists either prevented any action from being taken, as in Barcelona, or drifted into sporadic, desultory and senseless uprisings, as in Alcoy and Sanlucar de Barrameda; or that the leadership of the uprising was taken over by the intransigent bourgeois, as was the case in most of the revolts.¹⁰²

It was noted in the analyses of the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper

⁹⁹Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 118.

¹⁰⁰Engels, "The Workingmen of Europe," p. 165.

¹⁰¹Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 138.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 145.

that the cult of contradiction gains in strength as the opposition to the status quo increases. When the opposition diminishes, the cult of contradiction gives rise to the cult of synthesis--the contradiction of contradiction. The improved organization of the International as compared to the Communist League, coupled with the events in Spain, suggest that the general period under consideration was one of growing opposition. Marx and Engels concluded, "the International had. . . succeeded in uniting it into a single whole and making the ruling classes and their governments feel for the first time the cosmopolitan power of the proletariat."¹⁰³ At the same time, however, they also noted that the status quo was responding more ardently to the challenge. The attacks on the International "became increasingly intense after the fall of the Commune. And this was the moment that the Allianceists chose to declare open war on the General Council themselves!"¹⁰⁴ This combination of heightened revolution and reaction served to bring out both the cults of contradiction and synthesis to unparalleled proportions in the Bakuninists. On the one hand, given the rising opposition, they were further into the cult of contradiction: "revolutionary revolutionists." On the other, given the rising reaction, the Bakuninists were more advanced in the cult of synthesis: "traitors or dupes," "clowning or infamy"--it "is hard to say what predominates in the theoretical elucubrations and practical endeavours of the Alliance. . . ." ¹⁰⁵

Whether the case is the cult of contradiction or the cult of synthesis, however, the same predicament envelops the rebel. This basic dilemma is the dependency of rebellion on its opposition, or that which is rebelled against. It has already been noted how Bakunin had surpassed the previous rebels in his dependency on the forces of reaction. Did not Bakunin himself acknowledge this de-

¹⁰³Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 120.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 121, 122.

pendency in declaring, "The government itself shows us the road we must follow to attain our goal. . . ."106

In addition to the status quo, Bakunin had something else to rebel against, something which was less available to the other rebels. This was the proletarian revolution. The new target was visible in Bakunin's allegation that the Marxists wanted to establish "the world's most oppressive, resented and despicable government. . . ."

Double rebellion, however, meant double dependency. This is why the "anarchists commit suicide every year and arise anew from the ashes every year. . . ."107 Such was the end product of Bakunin's self-effacing position between the spoon of heaven and the fork of hell. He thoroughly despised a revolutionary "animal farm." But all he could really put in its place was a stock market.

Idealism

Doctrinairism.--It will be recalled that the anarchists had given Engels cause to ask them: "Is, then, 'the revolution' a dogmatic religion in which one must believe?" An orthodox mysticism regarding revolution characterized Willich/Schapper. Unlike Bakunin, however, they at least pretended to allow the Marxists their own political position.

Engels commented with regard to the Bakuninists in the International, "Nobody opposed their special dogma, but they were not content with that and wanted to command, and impose their doctrines upon all our members." Marx and Engels had criticised doctrinairism in the other rebels mainly in terms of content. With Bakunin a new ground for rebuke appeared:

We have all kinds of people in the Associa-

106Ibid., p. 113.

107Engels, "Engels to Becker," p. 170.

tion--Communists, Proudhonists, unionists, trade unionists, co-operators, Bakuninists, etc. . . . Unfortunately, the Bakuninists, with the narrow-mindedness common to all sects, were not content with this. . . .Atheism and materialism. . . should be made obligatory and the abolition of the right of inheritance and the State, etc., should be included in our programme. Now Marx and I are just as good old atheists and materialists as Bakunin . . . , and we know as well as he does how senseless this right of inheritance is. . . .But to include all these things in our programme would mean to drive away a vast number of members, and to divide instead of uniting the European proletariat.¹⁰⁸

In brief, Marx and Engels previously struck at the intentions of the dogmatists. With Bakunin they hit at the consequences. This shift in emphasis is hardly surprising, given Marx's historical perspective on doctrinairism: "Sects are justified (historically) so long as the working class is not yet ripe for an independent historical movement. As soon as it has attained this maturity all sects are essentially reactionary."¹⁰⁹

The tendency for critical-utopians to develop into reactionaries has already been noted. Marx's historical perspective offers an explanation in terms of the wider social context as to why this is the case: the growth of the working class. This is the change which transforms an old gun barrel into a pipe in a church organ.

Formulaism.--The recipes of the "heroes" elaborated their final goals in great detail. Willich/Schapper's blueprints were more cautious. Here only the most general outlines of the future were drawn out.

Bakunin's designs of the coming world were both specific and general. Examples of both have already been given. A specific characteristic of the future society was to be "compulsory physical

¹⁰⁸Engels, "Engels to Cafiero in Barletta," pp. 48, 49.

¹⁰⁹Marx, "Marx to Bolte," p. 55.

labour for everyone;" a general trait, the concentration of "all the means of social existence" in the hand of "Our Committee."

Bakunin's formulaism, however, went beyond that of the previous rebels. In the case of the latter, recipes primarily revolved around ends rather than means. For example, there was no ideal formula involved in the loan scheme of Kinkel and Willich. The recipes of Bakunin, on the other hand, seeped into his means. This intrusion appeared in his strategy for forming the *Fraternité Internationale*, the secret organization within the secret Alliance: "For the international organisation throughout Europe one hundred serious and firmly united revolutionaries would be sufficient. Two or three hundred revolutionaries would be enough for the organisation of the largest country."¹¹⁰

Similarly, Bakunin worked out an extremely complicated structure for organizing the insurgent forces combating the state. Marx and Engels summed up Bakunin's complex arrangement as follows:

Thus in this anarchistic organisation of the tribune-barricades we have first the Council of the Commune, then the executive committees which, to be able to do anything at all, must be vested with some power and supported by a police force; this is to be followed by nothing short of a federal parliament, whose principal object will be to organise this police force. Like the Commune Council, this parliament will have to assign executive power to one or more committees which by this act alone will be given an authoritarian character that the demands of the struggle will increasingly accentuate. We are thus confronted with a perfect reconstruction of all the elements of the "authoritarian State"; and the fact that we call this machine a "revolutionary Commune organised from bottom to top", makes little difference.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 111.

¹¹¹Ibid., pp. 110-1.

Bakunin's blueprint of a revolutionary organization indicates yet another difference between him and the other rebels. The formulas of the "heroes" were simply ideal schemes which portrayed the opposite of their immediate means. Willich/Schapper's recipes were overtly denied by them to be recipes; instead, they projected their own immediate methods onto Marxist "theory." Bakunin, as will be seen, performed the same type of projection. Yet, at the same time, he built up his immediate methods into ideal schemes of the future society--"Our Committee." Unlike the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, then, the formulaism of Bakunin accurately depicted the basic outlines of his own present and future (assuming he was successful). Here rebellion told the truth in a recipe form--and nothing but the truth. In the process Bakunin short-sheeted himself, an outcome which future rebels would keep in mind.

In addition to formulaism, other aspects of critical-utopian socialism and communism characterized the Alliance. "Amateur experiments" were present,¹¹² along with messianism. Bakunin pursued the latter to the point of rendering pity meaningless:

"Following the road pointed out to us now by the government. . . , let us throw ourselves, brothers, . . . into the brigand and peasant rebellion. . . . Let us turn them into a people's revolution, meaningful but pitiless."¹¹³

Marx and Engels had commented with regard to Bakunin's approach, "If the society of the future were modelled on the Alliance,

¹¹²Marx, "Marx to Bolte," p. 55.

¹¹³Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 114.

. . . it would far surpass the Paraguay of the Reverend Jesuit Fathers, so dear to Bakunin's heart."¹¹⁴ Just as the South American theocratic state developed into a state of theocracy in Dr. Francia, a similar movement occurred within the Alliance. After Bakunin died,

The cunning man of the world was superseded by a strait-laced pedant who applied the fanaticism of the Swiss Calvinists to the anarchist doctrine. The true faith had to be asserted at all costs and the narrow-minded schoolmaster of Neuchâtel had in any case to be recognised as the as the Pope of this true faith.¹¹⁵

On the level of formal categories, Bakunin's rebellion again added a new quality. The critical-utopian socialism and communism of the "heroes" was squarely centered in early Christianity. Kinkel saw himself as Noah; Struve founded the Colony of Renunciation, which he followed to its logical conclusion by renouncing it. Willich/Schapper's primitivism was slightly more complex. Willich "was entirely the prophet, convinced of his personal mission as the predestined liberator of the German proletariat and as such a direct claimant as much to political as to military dictatorship." As a result, "to the primitive Christian Communism previously preached by Weitling was added a kind of communist Islam."¹¹⁶ Bakunin went forth from Willich's creation. His feet were firmly planted in the militaristic communism of Islam. His head, on the other hand, was not into Christian Communism, which he only aspired to in the renunciation of politics. Thus, since the days of Willich/Schapper the ground and the clouds had parted, and Bakunin could only see the latter in the distance. The end result was that

¹¹⁴Ibid., pp. 119-20.

¹¹⁵Engels, "In Italy," pp. 156-7.

¹¹⁶Frederick Engels, "On The History of the Communist League," in Livingstone, The Cologne Communist Trial, p. 52.

even Bakunin's appreciation of Christian Communism was abstract. With his dictatorial urges cut adrift from any civilizing doctrine, Bakunin was a "Mohammed without the Koran."¹¹⁷ As was noted, his successor (James Guillaume) endeavored to make the necessary addition.

Obsession with symbols.--Unlike the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, Bakunin expressed an awareness of the problem of empty talk:

"We believe only in those who show their devotion to the cause of revolution by deeds, without fear of torture or imprisonment, because we renounce all words that are not immediately followed by deeds. We have no further use for aimless propaganda that does not set itself a definite time and place for realisation of the aims of revolution. What is more, it stands in our way and we shall make every effort to combat it. . . . We shall silence by force the chatterers who refuse to understand this."¹¹⁸

As in the case of "science," the central question here is the type of awareness Bakunin had of "words." Was his objection to an obsession with symbols itself a verbal obsession? The quotation of Bakunin is suspicious. The Bakuninists "renounce all words that are not immediately followed by deeds." Possibly, what he really meant was: the Alliance renounces all deeds that are not immediately preceded by words. Also, by setting "a definite time and place," propaganda does not cease to be aimless. Schapper already tried this in promising to lose his head on September 15, 1851.

It seems that Bakunin in fact was caught up in useless words about useless words. Marx and Engels concluded of the Bakuninists, "These small men with atrophied minds puff themselves up with horrific phrases in order to appear in their own eyes as giants of revolution. It is the fable of the frog and the ox."¹¹⁹ If their

¹¹⁷Marx and Engels, "Fictitious Splits," p. 73.

¹¹⁸Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 115.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 117.

"radicalism is wholly restricted to verbiage,"¹²⁰ it was because of the lack of a materialist perspective. "This is where the inmost thoughts of Mr [sic] Bakunin are revealed. He understands nothing whatever about social revolution; all he knows about it is political phrases; its economic prerequisites do not exist for him."¹²¹ The unmitigated zeal of the Alliance against "aimless propaganda," then, suggests their dependence upon such propaganda. As Engels noted, "they passionately fight the word."¹²²

The "word" just referred to is "'the authoritarian principle', which in their view is at the root of all evil."¹²³ For the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, symbols such as "authoritarian" amounted to eternal "Ideas." Bakunin's use of the word "state" showed how he had the same type of understanding. But with Bakunin the fixation with "Ideas" boiled down so far that only the sugary essence remained: solipcism. "As soon as something displeases the Bakuninists, they say: it's authoritarian, and thereby they imagine they have damned it forever."¹²⁴

Like the previous rebels, the Bakuninists thought "that when they have changed the names of things they have changed the things themselves. This is how these profound thinkers mock at the whole world."¹²⁵ Bakunin, however, had better perfected the art of sign peddling. For example, in the same leaflet which denounced "the chatterers," Bakunin declared:

"A real revolution does not need individuals standing at the head of the crowd and commanding it, but men hidden invisibly among the crowd and forming an invisible link between one crowd and another, and thus invisibly giving

¹²⁰Marx and Engels, "Fictitious Splits," p. 73.

¹²¹Marx, "Conspectus," pp. 148-9.

¹²²Frederick Engels, "On Authority," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism*, p. 103.

¹²³Frederick Engels, "From The International (Excerpt)," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism*, p. 123.

¹²⁴Frederick Engels, "Engels to P. Lafargue in Madrid, December 30, 1871," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Anarchism*, p. 58.

¹²⁵Engels, "On Authority," p. 102.

one and the same direction, one spirit and character to the movement. This is the sole purpose of bringing in a secret preparatory organisation and only to this extent is it necessary."¹²⁶

The above lesson on crowd control is really only a re-statement of Bakunin's existing social reality: he was being "crowded out." His subjective eruption is the final outcome of the dynamic previously noted with regard to the Alliance's view of violence. That dynamic, it will be recalled, was simply that Bakunin used wolves to hunt wolves.

The Alliance's obsession with symbols went further than that of the other rebels on still another level. In the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, pure words were by and large confined to an over-all context of pure words. Bakunin, on the other hand, took his symbolic fixation into the concrete world of the political struggle. "Well then, the first act of the revolution must be to decree the abolition of the State, as Bakunin did on September 28th in Lyons, despite the fact that abolition of the State is of necessity an authoritarian act." Bakunin's pronunciamiento from the Hotel de Ville immediately brought him face to face with turgid reality: "Two companies of the bourgeois National Guards proved quite sufficient. . . to shatter this splendid dream and send Bakunin hurrying back to Geneva with the miraculous decree in his pocket."¹²⁷ Such a total mystification of words on Bakunin's part suggests that his "universal movement" was in actuality a movement of the universities.

Bakunin's obsession with symbols was able to reach new heights because of the growth of the revolutionary forces. Engels directly noted the interconnection between Bakunin's words and the workers' deeds:

¹²⁶Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 115.

¹²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 108, 110.

Destroy the [International] and you'll find the waters as troubled as you could wish. Destroy above all the Trade Unions, declare war on strikes, reduce working-class solidarity to an empty phrase, and you will find yourself with a free field for your pompous, empty, doctrinaire phrases.¹²⁸

In brief, then, the obsession with symbols characterizing the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper amounted to the activity of fantasizing. Bakunin's obsession, on the other hand, led into the acting out of fantasies. Therein lay exposed the hollow smile of cannon fodder.

While Bakunin's fixation with symbols--as with all of the other manifestations of rebellion--was more developed than that of the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, the maturation can be taken too far. The Alliance still represents a relatively early stage in the decline of the petty bourgeoisie. As Engels noted, "Bakunin's extravagant revolutionary phrases called forth the desired applause" only where "the workers' movement itself was still in the process of formation."¹²⁹

"Ideas" are real.--Doctrinairism, formulaism, messianism, obsession with symbols--all of these traits include the tenet that "Ideas" are real. Nevertheless, certain aspects of Bakunin's ideology need further emphasis in this regard.

First, like the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper, the anarchists contended that "the 'driving spirit' of the working-class movement . . . lies in 'principles'," rather than "in the development of large-scale industry and its effects, the accumulation and concentration of capital, on the one hand, and of the proletariat, on the other."¹³⁰ With Bakunin, however, the "Ideas" or principles went beyond being merely independent of material reality. The realization of "Ideas" itself became another "Idea," as has been noted. But this second

¹²⁸Engels, "Imperative Mandates," p. 86.

¹²⁹Engels, "In Italy," p. 154.

¹³⁰Engels, "Housing Question," p. 89.

set of "Ideas," or idealized means, went on to become the diametrical opposite of the first set, or ideal ends. Marx noted of Bakunin's formula for seizing power:

In practical everyday life the workers must be most obedient servants of the State, but inside themselves they must protest energetically against its existence, and show their profound theoretical disdain for it by purchasing and reading literary treatises on the abolition of the State.¹³¹

Here, then, "Ideas" finally end up precisely where they began: total subjectivity. Bakunin's assertion that "Ideas" ought to be subjective was merely a restatement of what already was--and would be under a Bakunin-controlled society. Once again, Bakunin arrived at the doorway to comprehending his rebellion. But instead of passing inside, he stopped and blew smoke through the keyhole.

Secondly, like the other rebels, the "basis of Bakunin's social revolution is the will, and not the economic conditions."¹³² Bakunin, however, expanded on the "will" in greater theoretical detail. One example has already been cited: his argument that revolutions emerge from the "instinctive conscience" of the people. Another case is his appraisal of the 1861 student uprisings in Russia. In these revolts Bakunin "discovers 'an all-destroying spirit opposed to the State . . . which has emerged from the very depths of the people's life'; he congratulates 'our young brothers on their revolutionary tendencies. . . . This means that the end is in sight of this infamous Empire of all the Russias!'"¹³³

The "end in sight" actually may have been far different from what Bakunin expected. Just as sin gave birth to death, and the hero gave rise to the antihero, it appears that the "Idea" inevitably

¹³¹Marx, "Indifference to Politics," p. 95.

¹³²Marx, "Conspectus," p. 149.

¹³³Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 112.

begets the "anti-Idea": raw instinct. Only the latter in no way negates the former. The initial framework remains intact, whether above or below society. Mr. Hyde could not exist without a Dr. Jekyll--and vice versa.

Third and finally, Bakunin's faith in the reality of "Ideas" did not stop at breathing life into the "anti-Ideas" of instinct and passion. The Alliance sought to synthesize "Ideas" and "anti-Ideas." The vehicle for accomplishing this task was the *Fraternité Internationale*, Bakunin's supersecret organization. As he stated, the *Fraternité* was to be composed of "friends of the people, capable of serving as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea. . .and the popular instincts."¹³⁴

Bakunin's attempt at synthesis is more of the same idealism. He began with the "revolutionary idea." Then, in order not to be an idealist, he opposed to the "revolutionary idea" the phenomenon of "popular instincts." As was indicated above, however, instincts served as "anti-Ideas," or necessary components of the "revolutionary idea." Thus, Bakunin's attempt to resolve the discrepancy between "Ideas" and sense-experience only transformed the latter into more "Ideas." His synthesis, in the end, took place entirely on the plane of idealism: "Unity of thought and action," which Bakunin wanted in the *Fraternité*, really "means nothing but orthodoxy and blind obedience. Perinde ac cadaver. We are indeed confronted with a veritable Society of Jesus."¹³⁵

Bakunin's synthesis of two "Ideas" has a hidden class dimension. As Marx and Engels noted:

To say that the hundred international brothers must "serve as intermediaries between the revolutionary idea and the popular instincts," is to create an unbridgeable gulf

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 111.

¹³⁵Ibid., p. 112.

between the Alliance's revolutionary idea and the proletarian masses; it means proclaiming that these hundred guardsmen cannot be recruited anywhere but from among the privileged classes.¹³⁶

In brief, "Ideas" and their realization as another "Idea," thought and activity, principles and passion: all these shades and nuances of the tenet that "Ideas" are real were twisted into one and the same cable pertaining to elements of a hard-pressed class. If the whole scheme was utterly unrealistic, it was only because the social elements themselves were impractical for bourgeois society. Bakunin went so far as to imagine that he held in his hands the two principal prongs of a cord woven by the destiny of mankind. He then had visions of his group as the wall socket.

The real is an "Idea."--The "heroes" did not deny reality entirely; rather, they slipped it under the rug. Willich/Schapper performed the same operation, but then went on to imagine reality as a mythical dragon to slay. Bakunin took up where Willich/Schapper left off, and added an important new dimension. At least the windmills which Willich/Schapper attacked were real.

The idealization of reality by the "heroes" manifested itself in their inability to learn from sense-experience. Willich/Schapper went through the same stage, but eventually, following the Cologne Trial, demonstrated a faculty for acquiring knowledge from trial and error.

Bakunin's inability to learn was of a deeper nature. He went as far as Willich/Schapper, but proceeded to fall off on the other side. That is to say, Bakunin did indeed acquire knowledge, but knowledge of a strictly negative sort. In the Swiss Jura Federation, for example, the Bakuninists "were free to run things their own way" for a year and a half. They actually achieved what they held to be an ideal end for the International's General Council, a bureau of

¹³⁶Ibid., p. 112.

statistics and letters. But, as Engels noted, the Bakuninists' prior success was precisely the problem with the "Idea":

at the very moment when they themselves paint this picture of their miserable failure, this expression of utter helplessness and dissolution, they demand that we should divert the International from the course it has hitherto followed, . . . and lead it along the path which brought the Jura Federation from a comparative-ly flourishing state to complete dissolution.¹³⁷

Bakunin's idealization of a statistical bureau, then, had already been applied and had crashed. His fervent desire to try again indicated that he knew less--in positive terms--than those who had never even had any concrete experience with such a plan. Thus, Bakunin's appraisal of reality as a "world doomed to destruction"¹³⁸ is hardly surprising; neither is his "ought" of "pure destruction."¹³⁹ Both idealizations are in fact highly realistic, but only in terms of describing the contents of Bakunin's two cranial lobes. If the "heroes" and Willich/Schapper primarily "experienced" rather than learned, Bakunin experienced only what he had learned.

Like the other rebels, Bakunin transformed reality into an "Idea" by projecting it elsewhere. First, there were the other Russian emigres, the "chatterers" about whom Bakunin chattered "and whom he called doctrinaires."¹⁴⁰ Then, there were also the Marxists.

Willich/Schapper's projection of themselves onto Marx took the form of the classical, ideological inversion. The reality of their own practice appeared in their "Idea" of Marxist theory; the reality of their theory, in their "Idea" of Marxist practice.

¹³⁷Engels, "Congress of Sonvillier," p. 66.

¹³⁸Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," p. 113.

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 115.

Bakunin's projection, on the other hand, reversed that of Willich/Schapper. His hue and cry against the Marxists' practice of authoritarianism and centralism, for example, was simply the Alliance's practice. Similarly, Bakunin's objection to the Marxists' theory of a dictatorship after the fall of capitalism was only Bakunin's own theory. Marx quoted Bakunin's charge of dictatorship, and noted by an insert that the allegation was indeed a projection: "'By people's government they' (i.e., Bakunin) 'understand governing the people by means of a small number of representatives elected by the people.'"¹⁴¹

Bakunin's projection helped give rise to an important distinction between himself and Willich/Schapper. The latter's conversion of reality into an "Idea" was so completely ideological that widespread support for it was impossible. Bakunin likewise was unable to create any broad constituency for himself; however, he was somewhat more successful in acquiring support in a negative sense, i.e., undermining support for the Marxists. The Madrid report cited by Engels noted that what the bourgeoisie had failed to accomplish in the past, "i.e., to give the International a bad name among the great mass of Spanish workers, they may be able to achieve now" due to the "high-handed behaviour" of the Alliance.¹⁴²

The "heroes" transformed reality into "Ideas" by simple mystification, e.g., a newspaper became an idée fixe for Struve. Willich/Schapper went through the same procedure in making a revolution into an "it." However, Willich/Schapper then continued onward to mystify their mystification: "it" was the product of "activity" performed by a miraculous "will." Bakunin, like Willich/Schapper, mystified ends as well as means. But, as was noted, Bakunin's "Ideas" of means were the contradiction of his "Ideas" of ends. The end result was that reality appeared with respect to his means, but did so in the mode of an inverted mystification.

¹⁴¹Marx, "Conspectus," p. 150.

¹⁴²Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," p. 144.

An inverted mystification is still a mystification. The reality of means within this mode is consequently a total nullity. Marx noted this characteristic in his summary of Bakunin's means:

Like truly religious people, scornful of everyday needs, [the workers] should cry, full of faith: "May our class be crucified, may our race perish, but may the eternal principles remain unstained!" They should, like pious Christians, believe in the words of the priest, despise earthly blessings and think only of earning Paradise. For Paradise read THE ABOLITION OF SOCIETY, which will one day arrive in some small corner of the world, no one knows how or by whose efforts, and the mystification will be exactly the same.¹⁴³

In brief, the purity of the end "Ideas" was to be retained. Abstention was the means for preserving this purity for the early Christians as well as for the original critical-utopian socialists and communists, and for Bakunin. For the first two groups, however, abstention was a reality required by the social and economic factors of their day. Bakunin, on the other hand, made this requirement imposed by circumstances into an "Idea" or principle at a time when the circumstances no longer existed. By rendering the means to ideal ends to be ideal means, the ideal ends were made even more ideal. By the same token, the ideal means were also made even more ideal.

Bakunin's thought process regarding the transformation of reality into an "Idea" can be illustrated as follows: (a) start with a concrete fact--the Russian brigands. (b) Then, convert the fact into an ideal. "Brigandage is one of the most honourable forms of the Russian people's life." (c) Next, connect the idealization to another idealization or fact. Bakunin brought in the peasant revolts of the 1600's and 1700's in order to speak of the "brigand and peasant rebel-

¹⁴³Marx, "Indifference to Politics," p. 95.

lion." Up to this point a reality has been idealized, and the idealization has been supported by another reality. This is the mystification of a mystification. (d) Now, move back to the original idealization, but in a manner so that it subsumes the reality which was brought in for support. "To mystify his readers Bakunin confuses the leaders of the popular uprisings of the 17th and 18th centuries with the brigands and thieves of the Russia of today."¹⁴⁴ Here brigands is the general category including peasant insurrectionaries--not vice versa.

Bakunin has mistaken his interpretation of the fact--brigands are glorious--for the fact itself. That which is a logical possibility, he assumed to be actual: this is reification. Now, what was the actual fact of brigandage? "The sole brigandage--apart from the governmental sphere, of course--that is carried on still on a big scale in Russia is the stealing of horses, run as a commercial enterprise by the capitalists. . . ." ¹⁴⁵

In one sense, then, Bakunin is more realistic than Willich/Schapper, who supported their original idealization with more idealizations--not historical facts. But in another sense Bakunin was more idealistic because the facts which Bakunin included as contents were swept into his prior idealization. Thus, Bakunin dealt more with reality--but less realistically. Willich/Schapper eventually spurned their initial idealizations, whereas Bakunin never did.

Bakunin's greater realism of content and greater idealism at the same time is visible in the two facts and mode in which he put them together. Brigandage was glorified by the capitalists and Bakunin, but not by the peasants. The peasant rebellions, on the other hand, were honored by the peasants and Bakunin, but not by the capitalists. Bakunin, therefore, has ended up with a combination which is unacceptable to each of the other groups. He has in his

¹⁴⁴Marx and Engels, "Report and Documents," pp. 114-5.

¹⁴⁵Ibid., p. 115.

hands a total nullity: a brigand who opposes capitalism. This is indeed a "Brigand" with a capital B, an inverted mystification which if turned right side up ("capitalists oppose brigandage") only yields up the original mystification. It is easy to see why the Bakuninists were little more than "tools and victims" of the capitalists.¹⁴⁶ In his pursuit of the "Brigand," Bakunin became the "modest" proposal incarnate of the bourgeoisie.

The same general phenomenon of greater realism and greater idealism simultaneously was visible in the Bakuninists' projected future society. Marx and Engels remarked on the proposals for "communal eating, communal sleeping," and all the rest: "What a beautiful model of barrack-room communism!"¹⁴⁷ But barracks communism, it will be recalled, had been the concrete reality of Willich. The Alliance's "Idea," then, coupled with its idealization of brigandage, both point to the same conclusive finality: Bakunin had mystified rebellion.

The mystification of reality by the three groups of rebels can be summed up as follows: in the case of the "heroes," the closer they thought they were to reality, e.g., Struve's Colony of Renunciation, the further away they actually were from reality. With Willich/Schapper, the more they thought about reality, e.g., revolution, the further they removed themselves from reality. As for Bakunin, the further away he thought he was from reality, e.g., barracks communism, the closer he was to reality.

Bakunin's idealism, in brief, best captured the social reality of the social stratum he represented. His "fantastic pictures" of society--present and future--were a series of antemortem statements.

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As has been noted, Bakunin came from the aristocracy. The

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 115.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 119.

immediate membership of the Alliance, however, cannot be characterized as aristocratic. Rather, Bakunin's group was "a society of the 'declassed', of 'down-and-outs' 'with no career or prospects'".

. . "148

Engels identified the larger social basis of the Alliance in terms of three interrelated criteria. First, there was the general level of socio-economic development. In Spain, for example, "the great majority of Spanish workers" followed the Bakuninists. Spain, however, "is such a backward country industrially that there can be no question there of immediate complete emancipation of the working class. Spain will first have to pass through various preliminary stages of development. . . ."149 Similarly, in Italy the Alliance achieved substantial support in towns where the proletarians "are not very numerous. . . . These were the first places where ultra-revolutionary phrases, which tacitly implied dagger and poison, fell upon fertile soil."150

Secondly, Engels located support for Bakunin in nonsocialized forms of production. The Italian towns where the Alliance had a foothold "supply the local peasants with handicraft products and facilitate the sale of agricultural produce in a wider territory; moreover, the landowning aristocrats live in these towns and spend their revenue there; and, finally, a multitude of tourists spend their money there."151 Also, Jura, Switzerland "with its watch-making, which is always carried on in scattered cottages seems to have been destined to become a focus of this nonsense. . . ."152

Third and finally, Engels made explicit what is suggested by the criteria of an underdeveloped proletariat and nonsocialized production. Bakunin's approach "sounds extremely radical and is so simple that it can be learnt by heart in five minutes; that is why

148Ibid., p. 121.

149Engels, "The Bakuninists at Work," pp. 128-9.

150Engels, "In Italy," p. 155.

151Ibid., p. 155.

152Engels, "Engels to Becker in Geneva," p. 170.

the Bakuninist theory has speedily found favour. . . in Italy and Spain among young lawyers, doctors, and other doctrinaires."153 Whether defined in terms of nonproletarianization, mode of production, or occupation, then, Bakunin's constituency can be identified as the middle class sectors which are beginning to feel the pinch. "It is the fable of the frog and the ox."

Bakuninism, however, is also the legend of the black moth. The moribund stratum represented by the Alliance comes out even more clearly in the similarity between Bakuninism and Proudhonism. Engels noted that "the Proudhonist panacea has gained some influence only in the still more botched form presented by Bakunin. . . ."154 The "panacea," it will be recalled, was Proudhon in his later anarchist--rebellious--period. Proudhonism continued to speak for the petty bourgeoisie, as exemplified by Proudhon's follower, Mülberger, in his statement:

"The housing question is precisely that point of social reform which. . . seems appropriate to reveal the absolute inner identity of the interests of the proletariat, on the one hand, and the interests of the middle classes proper of society, on the other. The middle classes suffer just as much as, and perhaps even more than, the proletariat under the oppressive fetters of the rented dwelling. . . . Today the middle classes proper of society are faced with the question of whether they . . . can summon sufficient strength . . . to participate in the process of the transformation of society in alliance with the youthful, vigorous and energetic workers' party, a transformation whose blessings will be enjoyed above all by them [i.e., the middle class]."155

Willich/Schapper had circumvented middle class-proletarian antagonisms by labeling the middle class "proletarian." The Proudhonists

153 Engels, "Engels to Cuno in Milan," p. 70.

154 Engels, "From The Housing Question," p. 89.

155 Ibid., p. 91.

and Bakuninists were more blatant in their representation of the middle class at the expense of the proletariat. After all, not only was the proletariat becoming more visible, but also the objective situation of the middle class was growing increasingly problematic.

At the same time, however, the rebel anarchists had to take into their account the correlation of forces. The proletariat was gaining in strength, whereas the middle class was growing weaker. Mulberger objected to Engels' classification of him with petty bourgeois socialism. After analyzing Mulberger's position once again, Engels concluded, "The petty bourgeois is thus Mulberger's model human being and petty industry is Mulberger's model mode of production. Did I defame him, therefore, when I classed him among the petty-bourgeois Socialists?"¹⁵⁶ The issue brings to light the further development of rebellion by the anarchists; namely, along with the enveloping mystification of rebellion there arrived the phenomenon of overt denial of rebellion.

At this advanced stage the social reality of the rebel finally unfolds. Marx paraphrased the anarchists' ultimate dilemma and the role resulting therein:

"The authority that had the miners of Reve-de-Gier shot," Proudhon exclaims, "was in an unfortunate position. But it acted like the ancient Brutus standing between his paternal love and his duty as Consul: he had to sacrifice his sons in order to save the Republic. Brutus did not hesitate, and posterity dare not condemn him."¹⁵⁷

Brutus, however, was more than a Consul. He was also a Little Caesar.

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The anarchists represented rebellion in its highest stage--just

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 93.

¹⁵⁷Marx, "Indifference to Politics," p. 97.

at the point of moving from apotheosis to catharsis. Bakunin also demonstrated how in rebellion's arrival at this juncture each absolute step forward is at the same time a relative step backward.

A central problem remains. How far, in specific terms, can rebellion go before it crosses the apex? The continuing development of Bakuninism provides a clue. Just after Marx died, Engels received a letter notifying him of the activities of the anarchist John Most:

"In connection with the recent demonstration in honor of the memory of Karl Marx, all factions united in testifying their regard for the deceased philosopher, there were very loud statements made by John Most and his friends to the effect that he, Most, was upon intimate terms with Karl Marx, had made his work Das Kapital popular in Germany and that Marx was in accord with the propaganda conducted by him."¹⁵⁸

In his reply to the correspondent, Engels asked, "Does it require my express assertion that Marx opposed these anarchist absurdities from the very first day that they were started in their present form by Bakunin?"¹⁵⁹

The fact that Engels was asked, however, shows that such an assertion was indeed required. For while there was still "a great gulf" between the Marxists and the rebels,¹⁶⁰ the gulf was no longer as wide as it was deep.

¹⁵⁸Frederick Engels, "On the Occasion of Karl Marx's Death," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 171.

¹⁵⁹Ibid., p. 172.

¹⁶⁰Frederick Engels, "Engels to P. Inglesias in Madrid, March 26, 1894," in Marx, Engels, Lenin, Anarchism, p. 181.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The real, practical dissolution of these phrases, the removal of these notions from the consciousness of men, will, as we have already said, be effected by altered circumstances, not by theoretical deductions.¹

Socialism makes its concrete appearance in the world in a "democratic" way: of, by, and for capitalism.* Consequently, the consciousness of socialism cannot help but emerge with trappings of the mentality of bourgeois society. In the case of the middle class, this factor is compounded. Not only is the middle class primarily engaged in nonsocialized forms of production with their own tradition and ideology. Moreover, the middle class is caught in

¹Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, The German Ideology, International Publishers, New York, 1969, pp. 31-2.

*"The co-operative factories of the labourers themselves represent within the old form [i.e., capitalism] the first sprouts of the new, although they naturally reproduce, and must reproduce, everywhere in their actual organisation all the shortcomings of the prevailing system. But the antithesis between capital and labour is overcome within them, if at first only by way of making the associated labourers into their own capitalist, i.e., by enabling them to use the means of production for the employment of their own labour. They show how a new mode of production naturally grows out of an old one, when the development of the material forces of production and of the corresponding forms of social production have reached a particular stage. Without the factory system arising out of the capitalist mode of production there could have been no co-operative factories. . . . The capitalist stock companies, as much as the co-operative factories, should be considered as transitional forms from the capitalist mode of production to the associated one, with the only distinction that the antagonism is resolved negatively in the one and positively in the other." Karl Marx, Capital, International Publishers, New York, 1970, Volume III, p. 440.

a quagmire with respect to its position in bourgeois society, viz., in the middle of capital and labor, weaker than either of them, and growing weaker.

As the middle class dissolves, the realities just noted of necessity give rise to a variety of consciousness of socialism endemic to the middle class. Rebellion is the type of perception and appreciation of socialism which middle class existence affords. In both theoretical and practical terms, this ideology of petty bourgeois dislocation is initially confined to being a "caricature" running "alongside the real movement. . . ."2

Proletarian revolution and middle class rebellion: the difference between them is the same as the difference between an ukulele and a guitar. The analogy cannot be taken too far, however, since definite changes do occur in rebellion. This is also true for revolution.

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The three formal categories of rebellious consciousness--"true" socialism, petty bourgeois socialism, and critical-utopian socialism and communism--were all exhibited by the different rebel groups.

German or "true" socialism is chiefly characterized by the mystification of material reality. Arnold Ruge, one of the "heroes," represented "true" socialism in its most literal form. He translated the concrete, historical events in Germany into "humanism."

With Willich/Schapper mystification entered another stage. This group vigorously denounced the type of reification exhibited by Ruge, and claimed to be wholly concerned with hard reality. Reality for them, however, turned out to be another mystification. Revolution, for example, is an empirical phenomenon in itself; for

²Frederick Engels, "Engels to J. Becker in Geneva, December 16, 1882," in Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, and V.I. Lenin, Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, International Publishers, New York, 1972, p. 170. See also Karl Marx, "Marx to P. Lafargue in Paris, April 19, 1870," ibid., p. 46.

Willich/Schapper revolution functioned as an "Idea."

Bakunin took mystification up to yet another level. In both of the above cases, reality appears in turning rightside up the particular mystifications. Bakunin put together the two types of reifications, so that an inversion of his mystifications only yielded forth another mystification. The clearest case was the "Brigand."

At the same time, however, more and more revolutionary contents entered the rebels' field of vision. Unlike the "heroes," Willich/Schapper at least claimed to represent the revolution of bourgeois society. Bakunin, in his own way, took concrete actions. Thus, although the mode of mystification was not broken, the contents associated with revolution increased.

The story is much the same for the other categories of rebellion, plus the feudal and primitive responses. In all cases the basic components filled out. The consequence was that the general movement forward toward revolution also went sideways and backwards, like the inflation of a balloon.

The categories and responses did not form a major part of the examination of the three case studies--at least in an explicit sense. This is because their constituent parts were for the most part subsumed under the specific dynamic elements of rebellion. The tendency of "true" socialism to place the mundane in a transcendental light--"the necessity of truth" instead of "the truth of necessity," for example--was discussed under the tenet that reality is an "Idea." The love of the guilds which characterizes petty bourgeois socialism and the feudal response was treated in more general terms as autism or resolute individualism and personalistic group relationships. Finally, the identifying marks of critical-utopian socialism and communism were redefined in such terms as the obsession with symbols and doctrinairism (the same elements characterize the primitive response).

The definition of rebellion in terms of the categories and two responses serves as a point of departure. They constitute a ring with five keys for opening up a complex syndrome containing many other features. Moreover, the categories and responses are useful for suggesting the historical and social location of rebellion with respect to the forms of consciousness of capital and labor. The forms of consciousness pertaining to the other classes were not adequately discussed in this work, and investigations into these other areas is necessary. Inasmuch as rebellion plays off these other forms as a contradiction, rebellion itself cannot be fully understood without a clearer picture of capital and labor. At the same time, however, the mentalities of capital and labor cannot be really appreciated apart from the ideology of the middle class. Thus, while over the long-run the bourgeoisie tend to move away from humanitarianism-philanthropy toward fatalism and the proletariat goes from critical-utopianism to revolutionary communism, the middle class's fate was shown to be an important modifying factor. Similarly, the general drift of the middle class away from bourgeois socialism (humanitarianism-philanthropy and Proudhonism) through critical-utopianism and into revolutionary communism was partly conditioned by the attributes of the other two classes.

Turning to the dynamic elements of rebellious consciousness, specific manifestations found in the three groups were as follows:

I. The Cult of Contradiction.

- a. total intellectualism to total antiintellectualism.
- b. total pacificism to total violence.
- c. from reaction to revolution.
- d. discipline to insubordination.
- e. theory versus practice.
- f. high principles over base conduct.

II. The Cult of Synthesis.

- a. autism.
 - (i) divisionism.
 - (ii) factionalism.
 - (iii) personalism.
- b. torpidity.
- c. procrastination.

III. Idealism.

- a. "Ideas" are real.
 - (i) doctrinairism.
 - (ii) formulaism.
 - (iii) messianism.
 - (iv) obsession with symbols.
 - (v) bourgeois socialism, petty bourgeois socialism, and critical-utopianism (the latter two correspond to the feudal and primitive responses).
- b. reality is an "Idea."
 - (i) nonmaterial approach.
 - (ii) projectionism.
 - (iii) German or "true" socialism.

The general movement manifested by the successive groups of rebels through these specific elements has already been cited: forward, backward, and sideways simultaneously. The obsession with symbols is an example. The "heroes" indicated no awareness whatsoever of their fixation with words. Willich/Schapper exhibited a recognition of the problem, but only as a contentless generality: the "intellectuals" are wrong. Moreover, Willich/Schapper failed to see their own obsession with symbols; instead, they projected it onto the Marxists. Bakunin showed an awareness of the problem in its concrete form: he saw an obsession with symbols as simply an obsession with symbols, not as "intellectualism" or any other

abstraction. Like Willich/Schapper, however, he failed to see his own fixation and projected it onto the opposition. Yet unlike Willich/Schapper, Bakunin pursued symbols as a deliberate tactic, e.g., he perceived pamphlets denouncing the government as the route to victory. In brief, then, there was a progression in terms of recognition but not in understanding. The new developments were always shoveled back into the old mold which expanded in all directions.

If the main value of the categories is theoretical, the main value of the specific manifestations is practical. The co-existence of attitudes which are pacifistic and violent, for example, is subject to empirical testing. This work, however, attempted to point out the overall mode of rebellion, its principal dynamics, and relegated the specific manifestations to this purpose. That is to say, pacificism and violence have a common denominator--this is precisely the overall mode. It is a black hole in space. To see it involves looking for what rebellion both has and does not have in the way of specific contents.

The internal dynamics of rebellion are basically tautological. Idealism, for example, displayed the cult of contradiction in the form of a dualism between ideas and material reality. And to the extent that such dualities are necessarily artificial, idealism also exhibited the dynamic element of synthesis. What is valid for the general elements also holds for their specific manifestations. An obsession with symbols, for example, is a form of total intellectualism--and vice versa.

The central dynamic of rebellion, then, is that each element and its specific manifestations repeats in itself all of the other elements and their manifestations. The picture which emerges is a hologram in which each particular point comprising the total image presents this total image within itself.

The overall movement of rebellion is tautological. It is a

rhapsody in photo-gray which constantly slides back and forth over itself. New points appear and the size of the image grows. Other than changes in proportion, however, there are fundamentally no creative developments: only further elaborations on a theme. The overall tautological aspect of rebellion is most directly reproduced in the element of synthesis and its specific manifestation of active inactivity.

The same tautological process can be stated in social terms. The middle class is essentially different from capital and labor, and buffers the blows thrown by both sides. Lacking the concrete means to change this situation, the middle class proceeds to cultivate it, i.e., the glorification of contradictions. This initial stage was exhibited by the "heroes," who attempted to retain both of the opposing terms of each contradiction facing them.

The cultivated contradictions worked their way up to the top. "Now or never," "all or nothing"--in short, the either-or disjunction--is the summit of contradictions. This disjunction is merely a reflection of the real life disjunction of the middle class from bourgeois society. This stage was represented by Willich/Schapper.

The either-or position crashes on contact with social reality. "Neither" is the actual outcome, and at this point rebellion moves into synthesis. Autism and active inactivity were the destiny of Willich/Schapper and the anarchists. The latter differed from the former and from the "heroes" only by placing "both," "either-or," and "neither" under the same roof.

Synthesis, however, aptly describes the original condition of the middle class rebel: "beneath" capital and labor. In the end rebellion has only succeeded in justifying in theory what the middle class already is in practice--set apart from and caught between capital and labor. Marx's contention that the middle class must seek this justification captures the only "movement" or "development" which actually occurs.

The three dynamic elements of middle class consciousness form an Iron Triangle where ships go down and men disappear. The material bases of the triad were discussed in the chapter on the ideology of reconciliation. These underpinnings were identified as the self-contained quality of guild work relationships, the inability of the middle class to change other than by ceasing to be the middle class, and the abstract quality of the circulation sector with respect to production.

The three dynamic elements were assigned to the ideology of rebellion by inference. Middle class rebels, simply stated, are still middle class. Marx and Engels, however, also directly related the tautological Trinity of rebellion to its material bases, without the intermediary of reconciliation.

First, the overall quality of guild relationships of production--individualistic, personalistic, and hierarchical--precluded a concern for change of (rather than in) the existing framework;

The journeymen and apprentices were organized in each craft as it best suited the interest of the masters. The filial relationship in which they stood to their masters gave the latter a double power--on the one hand because of their influence on the whole life of the journeymen, and on the other because, for the journeymen who worked with the same master, it was a real bond, which held them together against the journeymen of other masters and separated them from these. And finally, the journeymen were bound to the existing order by their simple interest in becoming masters themselves. While, therefore, the rabble at least carried out revolts against the whole municipal order, revolts which remained completely ineffective because of their powerlessness, the journeymen never got further than small acts of insubordination within separate guilds, such as belong to the very nature of the guild.³

³Marx and Engels, The German Ideology, p. 46.

The ideology generated by guild production, then, was unable to pass over itself into something new. The "small acts of insubordination" were endemic to--not exceptions from--this ideology. Rebellion in this sense only repeated what was already there, which included itself. It was programmed to trip over its own guidewires without snapping them.

And secondly, there is the question of the situation of the guild mode within bourgeois society. Marx and Engels' discussion of this problem allows for another explanation of the tautological process of rebellion in terms of its immediate social reality. The "rabble" to which they referred was composed of runaway serfs, expropriated peasants, and individuals who had lost their feudal retainers. This group was the forerunner of the modern-day proletariat, and was forced into the cities by the centralization of rural property.

The precursor to the proletariat was weak during its period of initial migration out of the countryside. It was "devoid of any power, composed as it was of individuals strange to one another who had entered separately, and who stood unorganized over against an organized power armed for war, and jealously watching over them."⁴ The guilds only furthered this powerlessness by adopting a policy of exclusion. Consequently, the displaced people were saved only by the development of capitalist production: "manufacture became a refuge of the peasants from the guilds which excluded them or paid them badly, just as earlier the guild-towns had served as a refuge for the peasants from the oppressive landed nobility."⁵ In short, the guilds isolated themselves from the proletariat from the very beginning. The proletariat, however, was to prove to be the material force for future change of the mode of production which was establishing itself: capitalism.

Taken together, the all-inclusive quality of guild production

⁴Ibid., pp. 45-6.

⁵Ibid., p. 51.

and the separation of the guilds from the proletariat help to explain rebellion's self-confinement. In the case of the former, rebellion is limited to "insubordination"--which is impossible without subordination. With respect to the isolation from the proletariat, rebellion is cut off from the "revolts against the whole. . . order."

Marx and Engels, then, directly identified the social causes behind rebellion's tautological process. Both the internal and external limits of rebellion to a significant extent account for its basic quality of "being in revolt [but] not against this order, against the rule of capital." In social terms, it cannot leave its tiny island without becoming marooned on the mainland.

In addition to the realities of middle class life, the tautological dynamic of rebellion can also be explained in terms of rebellion's relationship to reconciliation. The latter characterizes the middle class in its classical position, i.e., between capital and labor. Revolutionary consciousness, on the other hand, characterizes the middle class after it has fallen into the proletariat. Rebellion is the transitional form of consciousness between reconciliation and revolution, and reflects the process of decline in social position.

The above perspective, however, locates rebellion only in long-run terms. In the short-run rebellion is the intermediate phase between reconciliation and . . . reconciliation--not revolution. The short-run relationship is due to the fact that the decline of the middle class is not completed all at once, but rather by a series of cycles.

When viewing rebellion in any one cycle, then, no rigid dichotomy can be made between rebellion and reconciliation. Reconciliation is the prerequisite and result of rebellion. Rebellion in this sense ends where it begins and begins where it ends: "from ashes to ashes; from dust to dust." Again, the basic changes which occur are basically those of proportion, i.e., synthesis moves to

the forefront in reconciliation, whereas the cult of contradiction is more salient in rebellion.

The lack of a clear dichotomy in short-run terms is visible in Marx's case studies of reconciliation and rebellion. First, the three elements of contradiction, synthesis, and idealism characterized all three groups of rebels as well as Proudhon, the reconciler. Secondly, when reconciliation and rebellion are defined in terms of the typological categories of consciousness, the same absence of a clear distinction emerges. Proudhon's "synthesis" included critical-utopianism, one of the categories pertaining to rebellion. The three groups of rebels, for their part, exhibited bourgeois socialism--a category of reconciliation--in their fixation with administrative reforms.

And thirdly, the impossibility of making a clean separation between reconciliation and rebellion for the short-run can be seen in the personal political biographies of the reconcilers and the rebels. Proudhon, the reconciler, exhibited the synthetic mentality analyzed by Marx. Prior to Proudhon's work, The Philosophy of Poverty, which Marx discussed, Proudhon had displayed the rebellious mentality in his book, What Is Property?. Marx considered Proudhon's earlier work to be "epoch-making":

The provocative defiance, laying hands on the economic "holy of holies," the brilliant paradox which made a mock of the ordinary bourgeois mind, the withering criticism, the bitter irony, and revealed here and there behind these, a deep and genuine feeling of indignation at the infamy of the existing order, a revolutionary earnestness--all these electrified the readers of What Is Property?. . . . But in spite of all his apparent iconoclasm one already finds in What Is Property? the contradiction that Proudhon is criticizing society, on the one hand, from the standpoint and with the eyes of a French small peasant (later petty bourgeois) and, on the other, with the standards derived from his inheritance from the Socialists.⁶

⁶Karl Marx, "Marx to J.B. Schweitzer, January 24, 1865," in Karl Marx, The Poverty of Philosophy, International Publishers, New York, 1971, pp. 194, 195-6.

Thus, previously Proudhon was a rebel. In What Is Property? the dynamic element of the cult of contradiction was dominant. Nevertheless, however, the synthetic element was already present in an embryonic form.

Proudhon, in short, had moved from rebellion to reconciliation. Yet, as was noted, after the 1852 coup by Bonaparte, Proudhon became an anarchist. The later rebellious Proudhon at the same time included reconciliation elements, e.g., support for an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

The rebels, for their part, had phases of reconciliation. The "hero" Julius Faucher had issued propaganda in 1848, preaching a combination of anarchy and bourgeois socialism. Another "hero," Arnold Ruge, before the 1848 revolution had founded a newspaper appropriately titled The Reform. Willich/Schapper toyed with reconciliation in the form of social democracy. Bakunin was a close friend of Proudhon precisely during the latter's reconciliatory period.

Reconciliation and rebellion are different phases of the same thing. Reconciliation is the culmination of the element of synthesis. Rebellion consummates the element of the cult of contradiction. And just as synthesis is the end product of the cult of contradiction--the contradiction of contradiction--reconciliation is the final outcome of rebellion.

Viewed in a negative sense, reconciliation does not negate rebellion. Rebellion does not negate reconciliation. The co-existence of the two phases is visible in Ruge's assimilation of new viewpoints by "polemicising against them," and in the "hero" Heinzen's acquisition of "ideas new to him by reviling them." The close interrelationship between rebellion and reconciliation indicates why capitalist systems do not just permit rebellion. They go on to sanctify and socialize it. For rebellion, by its high-light on the cult of contradiction, registers the defects of the prevailing mode of reconciliation. Rebellion works to correct

these defects by forcing reconciliation to recognize and include new elements (primarily those resulting from the increasing socialization of capitalism) within its sweep. Rebellion, then, is how the middle class keeps its role of labor-capital reconciliation apace with the class struggle. Rebellion is the manner in which the middle class improves and develops its crucial function of deadening this struggle.

Given the above viewpoint, reconciliation does not "co-opt" rebellion. Rebellion presupposes reconciliation, and vice-versa. The whole movement between the two ideological forms can be compared to the evolution from outrage to enrage.

So far: the repetitive operation of rebellion has been explained by the middle class mode of production and the position of this mode in capitalist societies; the three dynamic elements and their specific manifestations; and the essential inter-connection between rebellion and reconciliation. The tautological quality of rebellion has been stressed so heavily because it is precisely this quality which is most often overlooked.

Rebellion may succeed to a significant extent in becoming its own cause and effect, as has just been noted. But there is no perpetual motion machine. Like all systems, rebellion tends to break down. Hence, although the overall dynamic of rebellion is tautological, certain real changes occur in spite of rebellion.

During the continuing development of capitalism, the forces of capital and labor move into positions of increasing opposition. As a result, the prevailing mode of reconciliation tends to become more and more inadequate. Rebellion appears with greater scope, frequency, and intensity because ever-increasing corrections are required for reconciliation to fulfill its function.

An inherent part of the growing separation of capital and labor is the decline of the middle class. Rebellion compels reconciliation to include new elements of a socialist nature; for labor grows

faster than the bourgeoisie. Moreover, the material basis of the reconcilers themselves is slowly sapped away. If the process is allowed to continue, the addition of the proletarian elements coupled with the weakening of the reconcilers provoke a qualitative change. Here rebellion is no longer an appendage to reconciliation, but rather an introduction to revolution.

Up to the point of qualitative change, then, rebellion is tautological in the sense that it ends where it begins: reconciliation. But the reconciliation to which rebellion returns is not exactly the same reconciliation from which it began. For reconciliation is forced by the growth of the proletariat and the dislocation of the middle class to move forever to the left.

Rebellion itself introduces the new changes into reconciliation. The three groups of rebels successively picked up more contents of a revolutionary nature. The type of appreciation which the rebels had of these contents was never more than formalistic, e.g., Willich viewed revolution as a transcendental "it." That their mode of comprehending the new elements remained as it was only indicates that the middle class had not significantly declined into the proletariat, wherein revolution can be entertained realistically.

In brief, then, the internal development of rebellion such as the addition of new contents should not be exaggerated in importance. At the same time, however, neither should these changes be underestimated. The tiny marks scratched on rebellion by external forces start to accumulate. Finally, a crosshatching emerges which transforms the entire image.

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This investigation has dealt with rebellion only in its first major period, as a province of reconciliation. The period which

follows is characterized by a closer association between rebellion and revolution. Although this second epoch in rebellion's life was not treated in this study, several notes are in order regarding the later period.

First of all, the three classes have different perspectives on the relationship between rebellion and revolution. The reactionary forces claim that not only is the rebellion-to-revolution transition already complete; moreover, they argue that the proletarian revolution itself is actually nothing more than middle class rebellion. This position appeared historically for the first time in the 1852 Cologne Communist Trial. The Prussian Government sought to saddle Marx, the representative of working class revolution, with the middle class rebellion of Willich/Schapper. The desire to see revolution subsumed by rebellion manifested in the state's formal policy suggests an objective situation which continues to persist today: the only "solution" to the problem of the dissolution of the middle class into the proletariat (and the development of a revolutionary consciousness entailed therein) is political.

The policy of treating rebellion as though it was the revolution is part of the ever-increasing contradictions in which the reaction finds itself. On the one side, rebellion must be sanctified--the "right to protest" made hallow--if rebellion is to fulfill its function of improving middle class reconciliation, which is fundamental to preserving the existing system. On the other side, rebellion must be increasingly repressed as it proceeds to include more and more revolutionary elements. The equation by the ruling class of rebellion with revolution, then, suggests that rebellion's assimilation of revolutionary contents is at a sizeable level.

Like the bourgeoisie, the middle class also exaggerates the extent to which rebellion is part of the revolution. First, there is the middle class sector of the Proudhonist "synthesizers" who

constitute the prevailing mode of reconciliation. This group has its own rebellion located in the past; consequently, fewer revolutionary elements are included than in the subsequent forms of rebellion, which more closely correspond to the growth of the working class. In comparing their own past rebellion with the later forms, the reconcilers tend to overestimate the revolutionary inclination of the latter.

And secondly, there is the rebellious sector of the middle class. By means of contradiction, this group tends to contrast itself to both the bourgeoisie and the middle class reconcilers. In particular, the rebel sector stresses the new revolutionary elements it encompasses in order to set rebellion apart from its past of reconciliation.

The tendency toward exaggeration by the rebels of their revolutionary inclination usually unfolds rather quickly. After a point the rebels carry the cult of contradiction over to the contradiction of contradiction. In the later stage the proclivity toward revolution is curbed. Marx noted this change in thrust in his observation that despite its "revolutionary longings," the middle class in the end feels "more in place behind the [bourgeoisie] than in front of the revolutionary proletariat."

The close association between rebellion and revolution made by the middle class is a confusion of revolution with the peculiar appreciation of revolution which rebellion affords this class. This peculiar "understanding" consists of a projection of rebellion onto revolution: the latter is thought to consist of extremism, deception, greed, doctrinairism--in short, of all the particular manifestations of rebellion which Marx so arduously attacked. That the petty bourgeoisie, in looking for the proletarian revolution, finds only itself, i.e., rebellion, is hardly surprising. It is only another manifestation of the tautological process of middle class thought which is circumscribed within its own preexisting confines.

Finally, there is the revolutionary perspective on the relationship between rebellion and revolution. Marx was considerably more cautious than both the bourgeoisie and the middle class in his appraisal of the extent to which rebellion and revolution could be equated. First and foremost, the transition of rebellion to revolution is based on the material transition of the middle class into the proletariat. A prominent feature of Marx's short-term, ideological analyses is precisely that the middle class had not been dissolved to a significant degree.

The three case studies of rebellion are among Marx's analyses of the ideological superstructure. It is clear that in each study he attempted to correct the overestimation of the extent to which rebellion was revolutionary. Perhaps the most explicit statement of Marx's viewpoint, however, can be found in his letter to Schweitzer on Proudhon--about whom the same confusion prevailed:

Severe though the above judgment sounds [that Proudhon was "merely the petty bourgeois"] I must still endorse every word of it today. At the same time, however, it must be remembered that at the time when I declared his book to be the petty-bourgeois code of socialism and proved this theoretically, Proudhon was still being branded as an extreme arch-revolutionary alike by the political economists and by the Socialists. That is why even later on I never joined in the outcry about his "treachery" to the revolution. It was not his fault that, originally misunderstood by others as well as by himself, he failed to fulfil [sic] unjustified hopes.⁷

The sharp distinction wrought by Marx between rebellion and revolution faithfully mirrored his epoch. The middle class and the proletariat were clear and distinct classes because the decline

⁷Ibid., p. 199.

of the middle class had not reached substantial proportions. Marx's distinction between rebellion and revolution continues to be valid today, basically due to a preserve in the circulation sector for middle class employees.

Two historical developments, however, tend to render more problematic the rebellion-revolution cleavage in the long-run. First, the decline of the tertiary sector middle class will hasten the transition of rebellion to revolution. For the sector of the proletariat which fell from the middle class, however, rebellion will not be superseded immediately; rather, rebellion will constitute part of the traditions of that sector. Therefore, to speak of the proletariat, the revolutionary class, in the future will require a discussion of the heritage of rebellion.

And secondly, the socialist revolutions which exist today all made their appearance before the decline of the middle class was anywhere near completion. Bureaucracy, dogmatism, divisionism--the persistence of such characteristics of the middle class suggest that in the socialist world the transition of rebellion to revolution has not terminated. In fact, traces of rebellion are often magnified in socialist nations because the conscious control of society which socialism affords also provides for the opportunity of ideological conception to occur on a level unprecedented in world history.

To the extent, then, that existing socialist nations form a heritage for the development of socialism in the future, the traces of rebellion encompassed within them may be part of this heritage. Conjectures of this sort should be taken with great care, however: they easily are pushed into the bourgeois and middle class perspective which, in searching for revolution, finds only rebellion. While rebellion is present in socialist nations, they are still revolutionary in the most fundamental area of changing the mode of production. The economic structure comes first in importance; thereafter, the ideological superstructure.

In summary, rebellion and revolution will become more and more indistinguishable in the future as a result of two developments. First, there is the negative movement of rebellion--its disappearance as an entity independent of revolution--as the middle class is absorbed by the proletariat. And second, there is the positive movement of revolution entailing the upward construction of socialism from an existing base containing elements of rebellion. With a simple inversion of terms--put the rebellious middle class as absorbing the revolutionary proletariat, and place revolution underneath rebellion in socialist nations--the middle class and bourgeois position emerges.

It is appropriate to end with a note of extreme caution regarding evaluations of rebellion as "good" or "bad." Marx and Engels were immersed in the initial organization of the revolutionary working class. Given this overriding concern, they were usually harsh toward middle class rebels. While Marx and Engels did not condemn rebellion forever--they attempted to work with Willich/-Schapper and the Bakuninists--their relentless exposure of rebellion's destructive aspects tends to overwhelm any impression to the contrary.

Today the correlation of forces between rebellion and revolution is different than in Marx's day. The working class revolution is considerably more secure. This difference necessitates a reevaluation of the constructive and destructive aspects of rebellion, a reevaluation which requires an investigation of the continuing development of rebellion since Bakunin. Such an assessment, to be truly worthwhile, requires empirical data.

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APPENDIX

Clearly, any of the particular topics treated in this work--from the prevailing form of ideology in the United States to Bakunin--warrants a dissertation in itself. The attempt to make an investigation of a highly general order, therefore, automatically entails a bibliography which is highly incomplete.

The same insufficiency also necessarily characterizes a general examination's review of the literature. Such reviews can only be adequate for studies of a more specific nature. Research is of course growing all the time, so the problem of adequacy is always growing rather than diminishing.

In brief, then, to demand a full review of the literature is to insist upon an investigation of a narrow topic. Is it really surprising that most dissertations are consequently of little contribution? The position of this study is simply that reviews of the literature should supplement new research--not vice-versa. The proper place of reviews, therefore, is in an appendix and not the first chapter.

What follows is a review of some of the representative writings on the various themes--again, some, not all--covered in this work.

CHAPTER I: THE LAST CRISIS

TOPIC: The consciousness of the United States.

There seems to be little dispute among scholars and writers that the prevailing form of consciousness in the United States is middle class. "So widespread is the existence of middle class

*See "On the Fate of the Ph.D. Dissertation in Political Science" by William C. Yoeis, P.S., American Political Science Association, Volume V, Number 4, fall, 1972, pp. 432-5.

consciousness that it is no great exaggeration to pronounce this kind of class consciousness the characteristic American state of mind." (Arthur Norman Holcombe, The Middle Classes in American Politics, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1940, p. 207). Holcombe also noted (but did not develop) the central attribute of middle class ideology: the reconciliation of capital and labor (p. 56).

Public opinion survey data indicate rather consistently that most of the United States population identifies itself as middle class. See, for example, V.O. Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, Knopf, New York, 1961, chapter 6 ("Occupation and Class").

The same conclusion prevails among writers of the left. Gil Green wrote of "the petty-bourgeois philistine atmosphere that blankets the country. . . ." (The New Radicalism: Anarchist or Marxist?, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 20).

TOPIC: The middle class.

It is strange that the middle class is so often talked about and so little studied. By all accounts this class is a key factor in capitalist nations, and yet no definitive work employing concrete data has arisen. In one sense, however, the state of the literature accurately reflects the concrete condition of the middle class: incomplete and transitional.

A major problem for Marxist theory has been--and continues to be--the circulation sector. Most Marxists who have dealt with this problem, however, have not attempted to develop their theory. Instead, they have for the most part resorted to a nominalist procedure which attempts to define the problem away.

The first chapter reviewed the five central positions on the middle class which have emerged in the literature. The disagreements among them are significant, but, as was noted, all are similar in their lack of sufficient empirical data. This investigation did not solve this standing problem; nevertheless, it attempted to take a short step in a more constructive direction.

As usual, underneath the differences lurk concrete interests. I would strongly caution anyone who deals with this theoretical problem of the "new" middle class or "new working class" that Marx's observation of the tactic of the middle class of defining itself as "proletariat" seems to remain true today. Yet at the same time, authentic decomposition of the middle class into the proletariat likewise is a reality. How is the dilemma to be solved? I would suggest by looking at the concrete evidence of particular cases. More definitions and deductions will only continue to produce the same result that has already occurred: a vibrant exposure of the class represented by the analyzer.

TOPIC: Changes in the United States labor force.

Socialist journals contain a fair amount of discussion of the shift from production to circulation. Paul Sweezy claimed that "the two chief consequences of modern industry's revolutionary technology have been (1) a drastic (and continuing) reduction in the production-worker component, and (2) a vast proliferation of job categories in the distribution and service sectors of the economy." He then argued that the revolutionary agent is not the workers of the United States, but rather is "the masses in the much more numerous and populous underdeveloped dependencies of the global capitalist system." ("Marx and the Proletariat," Monthly Review, Vol. 19, No. 7, December, 1967, pp. 37, 41-2).

Vic Allen observed the change in the composition of the labor force, but noted, "Labour forces are perpetually changing their composition and, therefore, at any one time they are always new." Old skills are always disappearing and new ones are continually emerging. As to the political implications of the rise of the circulation sector group, he contended, "There is no useful evidence at hand to show that one labour force composition rather than another will prevent the emergence of a common class

consciousness when the pressures from the objective economic position [they share] become sufficiently intense." ("Contemporary Capitalism and Revolutionary Change," Marxism Today, Vol. 16, No. 5, May 1, 1972, pp. 153, 154).

Robert Carson noted that "'non-productive' employment has grown steadily as a function of GNP growth [from 1901-1969]." He also commented, "The direction of labor. . .to non-productive pursuits" was part of a solution to the problem of absorbing the rising labor surplus. ("Youthful Labor Surplus in Disaccumulationist Capitalism," Socialist Revolution, Number 9, Vol. 2, No. 3, May-June, 1972, pp. 20, 21, 22).

Albert Szymanski showed that in 1940, 75.1 percent of the labor force consisted of wage and salary earners and 21.6 percent were self-employed. In 1969, the figures were 89.5 percent and 9.1 percent respectively. Professionals and technicians--the "new working class"--was 3.1 percent of the labor force in 1900, and 12.9 percent in 1970. White-collar workers (clerical and sales) increased from 7.5 percent to 23.6 percent of the labor force over the same period. He concludes that the white-collar workers, "new working class," and blue-collar workers could be the basis for a socialist alliance. ("Trends in the American Class Structure," Socialist Revolution, Number 10, Vol. 2, No. 4, July-August, 1972, pp. 101-22).

TOPIC: The devaluation of middle class employee functions.

R.A. Lockhart documents how since the early 1960's the middle and upper ranges of the labor force were most affected by declining employment opportunities. (The Effect of Recent Techno-Economic Changes on the Mobility Patterns and Opportunities of the American Middle Class, With Particular Emphasis on Emergent Contradictions between Occupational and Educational Factors, Simon Fraser University, M.A. Thesis, 1970).

See also Scott Nearing, "Professionals Out of Work," Monthly Review, Vol. 22, No. 8, January, 1971, pp. 60-3.

TOPIC: Middle class reconciliation.

Richard Lemon, The Troubled American, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1970. This work reports the findings of an opinion survey conducted by Gallup for Newsweek in the fall of 1969. Unfortunately, the "Middle American" is defined entirely by income (\$5,000 to \$15,000 yearly); nevertheless, the results bring out some of the complexity in the consciousness of the "silent majority" (p. 219).

Middle America dislikes both the poor and the rich (p. 23); sees that values are changing and is worried about it (p. 51); and is undergoing more of "an agonizing reappraisal" of itself than a revolt (p. 28). "If the middle American's resentments can be traced back to any one, specific source, that source probably is money." 44 percent said they were barely hanging on, and had not improved economically in five years (p. 90).

"We're for cooperation, not conflict." (p. 109). Politically, they are alienated from the existing system (p. 21), and are moving both left and right--to McCarthy and Wallace (p. 140). They hold conservative moral values, but favor liberal social programs (p. 154).

Middle Americans differ on many issues according to ethnic, religious, age, income, occupational, and--most importantly--educational backgrounds (p. 159). Nevertheless, "On virtually all questions where income made a difference in the answers [to the Gallup pole], the wealthy stood at one pole, the poor at another, and the middle Americans in between." (p. 174). The responses of white-collar and blue-collar people differed significantly on many issues (p. 181). Generally, the latter are "less secure and much less tolerant" than the former (p. 185).

Generally, the "Middle American" is "magmatic and contradictory" (p. 148).

Robert Coles, The Middle Americans: Proud and Uncertain, Little, Brown, Boston, 1971. This work has outstanding photographs by Jon Erikson and excellent vignettes of blue-collar and white-collar workers--the "lower middle class" (p. 13). They are the "ordinary people" who "feel caught. . . 'in-between'" (p. viii). A bank teller describes himself as "a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde," and asks, "who doesn't contradict himself?" (p. 91). A policeman is against blacks, radicals, and intellectuals (pp. 50, 54). A gas station owner also dislikes blacks and intellectuals (p. 97), and subscribes to a "'jungle theory of human nature'" (p. 95). His wife is against the "rich, liberal sympathizers" who are ruining the country (p. 105).

The wife of a welder, on the other hand, dislikes "'a lot of talk.' Where does talk lead to, she asks." (p. 137). Her husband dislikes big business (p. 137).

TOPIC: Middle class rebellion.

The most widely known example of middle class rebellion in the United States is that of the late 1800's and early 1900's. See Norman Pollack, The Populist Mind, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, Indiana, 1967; Norman Pollack, The Populist Response to Industrial America, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1962; Chester Destler, American Radicalism, 1865-1901: Essays and Documents, Octagon Books, Inc., New York, 1963; Hoyt Landon Warner, Progressivism in Ohio, 1897-1917, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, Ohio, 1964; David Chalmers, The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers, The Citadel Press, New York, 1964; Louis Filler, Late Nineteenth Century American Liberalism: Representative Selections, 1880-1900, The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, Indiana, 1962; Roy Lubove, The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reforms in New York City, 1890-1917, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1962; and John Shover, Cornbelt Rebellion: The

Farmers' Holiday Association, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, Illinois, 1965.

Lewis Corey noted throughout The Crisis of the Middle Class that the middle class is torn between fascism and communism, between the desire to survive and the desire for revolution. Conclusions regarding the direction of rebellion are highly divergent in the literature.

Taking fascism first, Everett Ladd argued that the radical right in the United States was "a middle-class movement, and what is more, of the new middle class of our burgeoning suburbs, not of the old middle class (small-business owning) of the American small town." Small towns and small business were disappearing, yet the far right was not gaining in these sectors. ("The Radical Right: The White-Collar Extremists," The South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. LXV, No. 3, summer, 1966, pp. 315, 317).

Joel L. Nelson, however, concluded precisely the opposite: the old middle class (owners of small businesses) as opposed to the new middle class (managers of bureaucratic organizations) and white-collar and blue-collar workers gave greater support to McCarthy. He noted that "owners are uniformly more anomic than managers," and that "apparently, anomie is a function of depressed economic circumstances and owner status." ("Anomie: Comparisons Between the Old and the New Middle Class," The American Journal of Sociology, University of Chicago Press, Vol. 74, No. 2, September, 1968, pp. 184-92). For documentation on his conclusion regarding McCarthy, see Martin Trow, "Small Businessmen, Political Tolerance, and Support for McCarthy," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIV, November, 1958, pp. 270-81. Charles Bonjean developed the thesis that businessmen more than managers had "mass" socio-personalities--"social isolation, normlessness, anomia, low self-esteem, and general alienation." ("Mass, Class, and The Industrial Community: A Comparative Analysis of Managers, Businessmen, and Workers," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 72, No. 2, September, 1966, p. 155).

Seymour M. Lipset similarly took the position that fascism grows out of the old middle class. In Germany and Austria, "Nazism developed pre-eminently as a movement of the liberal petty bourgeoisie. . . ." In looking at the Nazi vote, he concluded that small farmers and businessmen were more fascist than white-collar groups. "Liberal" petty bourgeoisie is defined not only economically, or as the old middle class, but also as a complex of values: love of laissez-faire, hatred of labor unions, support for equal opportunity, opposition to the aristocracy and enforced equality of income, and dislike for the Church, traditionalism, and rationalism. In the United States, Lipset argues in direct opposition to Ladd that right extremism is strongest in provincial small towns and cities: "Here are the declining 'liberal' classes living in declining areas." His conclusion that fascism is an "extremist movement of the center" suggests that fascism may be a type of rebellion by the reconcilers which is in contrast or opposition to the rebellion of the middle class rebels per se. ("Social Stratification and 'Right-Wing Extremism'," The British Journal of Sociology, Vol. X, No. 4, December, 1959, pp. 346-82).

Richard Hamilton examined the "marginal middle class"--clerical and sales workers. Employing data from The American Voter, he divided the marginal middle class into those who identify themselves with the proletariat (52 percent) and those who identify themselves as middle class. The "working class-identifiers are the ones who prove to be on the margin [in terms of income]" with the working class.

Hamilton found that the sector with a middle class identification were more hopeful about the future, but yet were less satisfied than those with a working class identification. The latter group was less authoritarian than the former in terms of wanting government support for blacks: "paradoxically, 'working-class authoritarianism' is a phenomenon of middle-class origin. . . ."

The 52 percent of the marginal middle class identifying itself

as working class was an increase over the 1945 survey findings of 35 percent. Hamilton concluded, "this indicates a trend, contrary to the common expectation, of increased identification with the working class on the part of those marginal to the middle class." ("The Marginal Middle Class: A Reconsideration," American Sociological Review, Vol. 31, Number 2, April, 1966, pp. 192-99).

Hamilton's findings are in tune with those of Emil Lederer and Jacob Marschak. The latter argued that the new middle class in Germany once saw themselves as the reconcilers of capital and labor, but had become pessimistic. After 1918, the new middle class moved from a position against labor to support of labor. (The New Middle Class, Public Works Project No. 165-97-6999-6027, New York, 1937).

Turning to the other direction which middle class rebellion can take, the direction toward revolutionary communism, the upheaval of the 1960's provides an outstanding example. Irwin Silber concluded, "The 'cultural revolution' of the white middle class young in America is a social phenomenon which has contained within it a genuinely revolutionary potential. . . . But it may serve a non-revolutionary, even a counter-revolutionary purpose to the extent that it moves in the direction of outmoded solutions. We cannot be blind to the fact that the trend has been away from political solutions which change productive relations and towards solutions which are, in essence, much more accommodating to the system." (The Cultural Revolution: A Marxist Analysis, Times Change Press, New York, p. 41).

A more extensive analysis of the contemporary phenomenon was performed by Gil Green. "Liberalism and anarchism have the same class roots and represent the same holding tight to petty-bourgeois individualism. . . . Liberalism reflects the belief that the system can be patched up by measures of reform. . . . It believes that all

social problems are amenable to peaceful solution if there is only a willingness on all sides to compromise a little. Liberalism reflects, therefore, the normal middle-class disposition to vacillate, conciliate and to avoid sharp confrontation at all costs.

Anarchism, as distinct from liberalism, represents a reaction to the failures and hypocrisy of liberalism and is a violent rejoinder to it. It, too, reflects the mood of middle-class individuals, but of those who feel the ground being moved from under them, who no longer have confidence in the normal functioning of the system, and who fly to the other extreme in rage and despair but within the same individualist range. It is a subjective reflection of the growing anarchy and disintegration in society." (The New Radicalism: Anarchist or Marxist?, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 47).

For other discussions of contemporary forms of middle class rebellion, see Bernard Galitz, "The New Left Closer to Marxism," and Matthew Hallinan, "The Ideology of the New Left," Political Affairs, Vol. XLIX, No. 1, January, 1970, pp. 55, 58, 60; A. Basmanov, "The Role of Trotskyism in the Modern World," Political Affairs, Vol. XLIX, No. 3, March, 1970, pp. 41-6; James West, "Lenin on Petty Bourgeois Radicalism," Political Affairs, Vol. XLIX, No. 5, May, 1970, pp. 20-7; Robert Steigerwald, "Critical Remarks on a 'Critical Theory'," Political Affairs, Vol. XLIX, No. 8, August, 1970, pp. 33-42; Gus Hall, "Crisis of Petty-Bourgeois Radicalism," Political Affairs, Vol. XLIX, No. 10, October, 1970, pp. 3-8; Mick Costello, "Anarchist Ideas Today," Marxism Today, Vol. 15, No. 8, August, 1971, p. 244; Willie Thompson, "Revolutionary Romanticism," Marxism Today, Vol. 14, No. 5, May, 1970, pp. 153-8; Mick Costello, "Some Aspects of Anarchist Philosophy," Marxism Today, Vol. 14, No. 3, March, 1970, pp. 69-75; Alfred Kosing, "Modern Revisionism: Philosophical and Socio-Political Functions," World Marxist Review, Vol. 14, No. 3, March, 1971,

pp. 117-8; A. Sommer, "Non-Marxist Socialism Today," World Marxist Review, Vol. 14, No. 6, June, 1971, pp. 155-61; Bruno Frei, "Neo-Anarchism in a Blind Alley," World Marxist Review, Vol. 14, No. 7, July, 1971, pp. 133-41; and Jerzy J. Wiatr, "Herbert Marcuse: Philosopher of a Lost Radicalism," Science and Society, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3, fall, 1970, pp. 319-30.

CHAPTER II: TWO TYPOLOGIES OF CONSCIOUSNESS AND TWO "REACTIONS"

TOPIC: The Communist Manifesto typology.

Dirk Struik disagreed with the position that this typology is worthless: "We sometimes hear that the [Manifesto's typology is] dated beyond repair. This may be true from a narrow historical point of view. We do not hear any more of 'true socialists,' of Fourierists or Chartists. But, taken in a wider sense, these sections [of the Manifesto] are not so dated as seems at first sight. It appears that our present Left, New as well as Old, still can profit from the critique of the various forms of confused radicalism in the jungle through which the Manifesto hacked its way. We still have with us, each in its modern version, our utopians, our petty-bourgeois socialists, our messianists and emotionalists, our men and women who hope that they can come to socialism and brotherhood without the class struggle and without a systematic study of the laws which govern society. We have plenty of quasi-philosophy and phraseology of the 'true-socialist' type and the 'critical critics' who give, in the struggles for socialism, the intellectuals priority above the working class." (Birth of The Communist Manifesto, International Publishers, New York, 1971, p. 80). Struik provided an excellent bibliography on commentaries on The Communist Manifesto (pp. 199-200).

Perhaps the most outstanding work on the typology is the analysis of D. Ryazanoff. The categories of ideology are reviewed and specific examples are provided. "We need not but look around

to become aware of the enormous difficulty the petty bourgeoisie has in adopting the proletarian outlook." Ryazanoff also concluded that Proudhon actually belonged under petty bourgeois socialism, and that his placement under bourgeois socialism "is now only of historical interest." (The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Fredrich Engels, Russell and Russell, Inc., New York, 1963, pp. 124, 225).

Contemporary manifestations of the feudal and primitive reactions to capitalism are often cited in the literature. Irwin Silber noted, "Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the various counter-cultures which comprise the 'cultural revolution' of the 1960s is the theme of regression--either in time or space--to earlier societal forms." (The Cultural Revolution: A Marxist Analysis, p. 18). And Gil Green maintained that "anarchists frequently worship 'natural' man and primitive society, as against industrial man and modern society. . . . Thus there are anarchists who have favored a return to nature and to small, more primitive, farm and handicraft modes of life. In this idolatry of the primitive as representative of the good, the honest and the moral life, there is also a tendency to identify with the myths and mysticism of more ancient cultures." (The New Radicalism: Anarchist or Marxist?, p. 22).

CHAPTER III: THE CONSCIENCE OF AN UNCONSCIOUS CLASS

TOPIC: Proudhon.

For a fair biography of Proudhon, see D.W. Brogan, Proudhon, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1934. Brogan rounds out the picture of Proudhon both before and after Marx's attack--which Proudhon considered to be "merely an expression of jealousy." (p. 45).

For a somewhat favorable analysis of Proudhon's work, see Alan Ritter, The Political Thought of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon,

Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1969. Ritter noted that Proudhon's father had a "marginal economic status as an impecunious and ultimately bankrupt brewer." (p. 12). He summed up Proudhon's life as "ambiguous" (p. 12).

Another review of Proudhon's work is Emile Faguet, Politicians and Moralists of the Nineteenth Century, Little, Brown, and Company, Boston, Massachusetts, (undated). Faguet noted that Proudhon's writings "seem an enormous collection of contradictions." (p. 118).

CHAPTER IV: THE "HEROES OF THE EXILE"

TOPIC: The "heroes."

Information on these individuals is limited. Numerous references to the "heroes" appear in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters To Americans: 1848-1895, International Publishers, New York, 1969. However, nothing basic is added by this work.

Several editions containing poetry by Gottfried Kinkel are available in German, but none in English. Kinkel apparently made something of a comeback during the fascist period.

One work by Harro Harring was recently published: Tropical Sketches from Brazil, 1840, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Rio de Janeiro, 1965.

Arnold Ruge's earlier relationship with Marx is described in E.H. Carr, Michael Bakunin, Macmillan and Company, Limited, London, England, 1937.

CHAPTER V: WILLICH, SCHAPPER, AND WILLICH

D. Ryazanoff argued that Engels' article, "The History of the Communist League," was not accurate; however, Ryazanoff's argument does not detract from the value of the article for this investigation. (The Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and

Fredrich Engels, pp. 14-22).

As with the "heroes," information on Willich and Schapper is sketchy. They are often mentioned, but only briefly. Representative of research of this nature is Karl Obermann, "The Communist League: A Forerunner of the American Labor Movement," Science and Society, Vol. XXX, No. 4, fall, 1966, pp. 433-46.

CHAPTER VI: THE BAKUNINISTS: REBELLION IN THE REVOLUTION?

TOPIC: Bakunin.

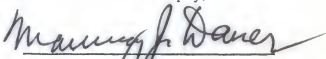
Carr's work continues to be the most thorough account of Bakunin's life.

For excerpts of Bakunin's major tenets, see G.P. Maximoff, Editor, The Political Philosophy of Bakunin, The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1953. He concluded of Bakunin's anarchism that it is "the apotheosis of petty bourgeois existence. . . ." (p. 11). A substantial bibliography is provided.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

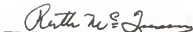
Tom Warson was born April 13, 1944, at St. Louis, Missouri. In June, 1962, he graduated from Sarasota High School in Sarasota, Florida. In June, 1967, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts with a major in political science from Antioch College. In March, 1969, he received the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Latin American studies from the University of Florida.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Dr. Manning J. Dauer, Chairman
Professor of Political Science

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Dr. Ruth McQuown
Professor of Political Science

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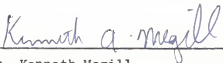
Dr. John Fitch
Assistant Professor of Political
Science

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



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Assistant Professor of Political
Science

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.



Dr. Kenneth McGill
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This dissertation was submitted to the Department of Political Science in the College of Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate Council, and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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